NOVEMBER/1948 35¢

United Nations WORLD

THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

How To Avoid War

See page 64

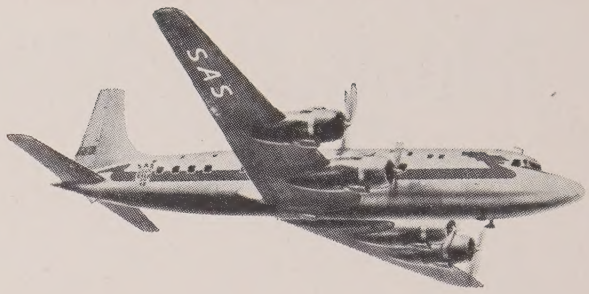
Illinois U Library

AT UL
U OF ILLINOIS LIB
UNIV GRADUATE SCH
UNDERGRAD DIV
CHICAGO AVE
CHICAGO ILL
I-9R

Herbert Vere Evatt

Assembly President

"UNITED NATIONS OF THE AIR"



A successful experiment in international teamwork, the worldwide Scandinavian Airlines System was created two years ago by the airlines of Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

Since then, SAS has carried over a million revenue passengers . . . over 40 million pounds of mail . . . and over 35 million pounds of cargo . . . linking 68 important cities on four continents.

The three crowned shields with the cross and colors of the Scandinavian nations in the SAS insignia symbolize an earnest attempt to forge the worldwide unity of peoples.

With DC-6 service between Great Britain, Scandinavia and the United States and interline connections with principal U. S. domestic airlines, SAS provides swift, dependable travel facilities to all points in the United States, South America, Europe and the Near and Far East. New low round-trip fares to Europe save you 25%. Sleeper service only $45 extra. *See your travel agent now.*

SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES SYSTEM

New York—47 E. 46th Street, CIrcle 6-4000

Chicago—37 S. Wabash Avenue, RAndolph 6-6984

Minneapolis—1110 Rand Tower, LIncoln 4735 and NEstor 6911

Seattle—5527 White Henry Stuart Building, SEneca 6250

Los Angeles—108 W. Sixth Street, TUcker 3739

Illinois II Library

STATE OF THE WORLD

AN INSIDE REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS—
ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATIONS OF WORLD
POLITICAL, MILITARY, SOCIO-ECONOMIC MOVES

The Cold War

BY THE EDITORS

Becomes a World Political Struggle
And, Paradoxically, Promises a Truce

THE OUTBREAK of world political war—the third phase of the cold war—is the most sensational development of the General Assembly sessions in Paris. Not a bomb has been dropped nor a shot fired, though this newest type of worldwide war has been under way for weeks.

The cold war is no longer a contest between governments for armaments, industries or allies, but a showdown struggle in which each has set out to win the mental and moral support of the peoples of the world. This phase of the cold war began without declaration, and was generally unrecognized even by the diplomats involved directly and indirectly. Nevertheless, the progression of the cold war into its third phase is vitally important.

The first phase of the cold war on the western side was peaceful military measures: the switchover from postwar disarmament and demobilization to gradual rearmament and recruitment which came late in 1947. The second was diplomatic warfare: the establishment of new alignments fusing the US, UK, France, Benelux and other nations—politically, economically and militarily—into a common, sawtoothed but soft "line" facing the East.

The first two phases of the cold war in the eastern world were marked by (1) the consolidation of the Soviet Union's power in Eastern Europe through rigidly controlled pro-Communist regimes and (2) through sharper discipline of Communist forces everywhere, mobilizing the Cominform and other instrumentalities to oppose every move of the US on the international scene.

The battles fought in the first two phases of the cold war were limited engagements, skirmishes, flank attacks. Neither side could claim more than limited success in the eyes of the world. Inability to clinch a victory in the earlier phases now forces both sides into direct over-all political offensive and counter-offensive.

Political war differs from all other warfare in that it is aimed directly at public opinion. In it the two great antagonists have each undertaken to convince the world—the peoples on their own side and those on the opponent's side as well as the majority on neither side—that only their cause is rightful and just.

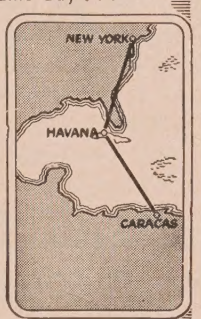
It is not over optimistic to believe that out of this new phase of the cold war may come an eventual truce, but it must be made clear that this is but one of three possible outcomes. They are: (1) recognition that World War III could end only in a deadly stalemate, and that negotiation is the only way to settle differences; (2) actual, but limited military operations risking World War III; (3) decisive cold war victory, winning for one side or the other the al-

THE THREE BAFFLED HUNTSMEN—"So they hunted and they hollo'd till the setting of the sun, and they'd naught to bring away at last when the hunting day was done—Look ye there!" *Punch*

Only 5 hours
NEW YORK TO HAVANA
Only 5 hours
MORE TO CARACAS
VENEZUELA

L.A.V. alone flies you there so fast... without change of planes! Leave New York every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 6:00 P.M. (EST), arrive Havana 11:00 P.M. same day . . . arrive Caracas 6:00 A.M. next day. Connections to all points in South America.

See Your Travel Agent or L. A. V., 781 5th Ave., at 59th St., PLaza 9-6500.



L.A.V.
INTERNATIONAL DIVISION

Línea Aeropostal Venezolana
THE VENEZUELAN AIRLINE

BOOK MSS. WANTED

Complete publishing services, including editorial, production and distribution facilities for books and pamphlets.
Write Dept. 31, for free literature.

THE *Exposition* PRESS
One Spruce Street • New York 7, N. Y.

Picture Credits:

Cover: Pix; Page 10: Official UN Photo; Page 12: INP; Pages 14, 16: Acme; Page 17: Acme; Page 24: Acme; Pages 26, 27: Wide World; Page 28: Acme, Wide World; Page 35: Pix; Page 36: Pix, Mexican Government Railway System; Page 37: Ewing Galloway, Nelson Morris, Fritz Henle; Pages 39-40: Acme; Pages 45, 46: Ewing Galloway; Page 53: Grace Line; Page 56: Leo Rosenthal; Page 61: Phil Bougas; Page 62: Wide World.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD, November, 1948. Vol. 2, No. 10. Published monthly by U.N. WORLD, Inc., 385 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y. Entered as second class matter August 2, 1948, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Price: 35 cents a copy, $4.00 for one year, $7.00 two years, $9.00 three years. Foreign Postage, outside US possessions, Western Hemisphere nations and Spain, $1.00 a year. Printed in the U.S.A.

Copyright by U.N. World, Inc.

State of the World *continued*

legiance of most of the world's peoples and, thereby, assuring world dominance for its ideology.

PARIS: The third General Assembly, now past mid-channel, has already proved itself to be the most momentous gathering of world leaders in modern history. Its importance is not alone to be found in the Olympian array of delegates including Prime Ministers Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium, MacKenzie King of Canada, Peter Frazer of New Zealand, and 29 ministers for foreign affairs led off by Marshall of the US, Bevin of the UK, Schuman of France, Evatt of Australia, Wang Shih-Chieh of China, Unden of Sweden, Modzelewski of Poland, and Bramuglia of Argentina. The USSR to date has been represented only by *Deputy* Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky, while his boss Mr. Molotov stayed at home. The transcendent importance of this General Assembly is to be found in the fact that it performed, as never before, its proper but often misunderstood function as the town hall meeting of the world where, under the spotlight of world public opinion, the basic issues of our time are threshed out.

Overshadowing all other questions confronting delegates was—as UNW predicted in its August issue—the great East-West debate.

For the first time, at Paris both sides abandoned even the slightest pretense of hiding from the world public their differences, and the fact that they had almost reached the breaking point.

USSR's Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky accused the US of a drive for world dominion, of piling up gigantic armaments and bases to buttress reaction. He was answered, almost as bluntly, by Bevin, Schuman and Spaak.

VYSHINSKY: During the first week of his presence at the General Assembly Vyshinsky was the old implacable prosecutor of barbed brilliant phrases and rhetorical accusation. He reminded veteran diplomats and newsmen of his performance as the finger-pointing Robespierre of the purge trials in the thirties. After a week of adamant refusal to budge under western pressure, Vyshins surprised Paris and the world by dramatic reversal in his attitude, b personal and philosophic.

His behavior portrayed the t faces of Soviet foreign policy. C facet of that policy is to limit competence of the UN, to impair prestige, and to undermine its auth ity by excluding from its jurisdicti the most acute political conflict the moment: the Berlin dispute a the German question. The oppos facet is to strengthen the UN, to dow it with greater political imp tance by forcing it to undertake once steps toward world disarmam and the outlawry of the atom bon together with the establishment of ternational control over atomic ergy.

Out of the blue, he began a ser of shifts that were variously int preted as counter-offensives, as c ciliatory moves, even as a fundam tal and far-reaching change in Sov foreign policy. Instead of fiery vi peration he exuded, with mellow r sonableness, proposals for disarm ment and peace. This shift brou forth whispers of the name of Max Litvinoff who, in the mid-thirties, the League of Nations, voiced simi pleas for a *modus vivendi* with capitalist world.

There is no question that Vysh sky did yield one position stubborn held by the USSR ever since the ception of the dispute over ato energy. Heretofore the USSR has sisted that the atomic bomb be o lawed and existing stocks destroy before Russia could accept inter tional control of atomic energy. B on October 1, through Vyshinsky, USSR announced its willingness accept simultaneously adoption two agreements: the one to ban the bomb, and the other to set up ternational authority for the peace uses of atomic fission.

There was a strong tendency to c miss the Vyshinsky reversal as si ply another USSR maneuver in cold war, especially since the US insisted that any control over ato energy remain vested in the Secur Council where the veto perennia prevails. Arguing against this vi Vyshinsky abandoned his bellic states-attorney attitude and becam

Who wants a gift of world understanding for Christmas?

. . . at a bargain price, too!

Practically everyone on your list . . . everyone with a mind to *think* with. Give them a year's subscription to U N WORLD.

Give it to the business men who need a clear perspective on world trade. To writers, professors, club leaders.

To men in the armed forces overseas. To parents . . . they'll thank you for the U N WORLD's clear answers to the searching questions children ask in this terrifyingly confused world.

And what of your friends abroad? They're starved for reading like this . . . honest and outspoken with impartial, authoritative news of the whole international scene.

One of the most worthwhile of all gifts this year is a measure of better world understanding . . . actually *twelve* good measures . . . with the twelve issues of U N WORLD—all for a modest three dollars at the special Christmas gift rate. It's not *one* gift . . . it's a *dozen-in-one!*

And it only takes a minute now to check off many of the names on your shopping list, for an *in*expensive gift that will keep on giving all the year.

P. S. We'll send an attractive Christmas card to announce your gift.

united nations **WORLD**

Special Gift Offer **1 YEAR 12 ISSUES $3**

(ADD $1.00 TO COVER POSTAGE FOR OVERSEAS SUBSCRIPTIONS, EXCEPT CANADA, LATIN AMERICA AND ARMED FORCES)

YOU SAVE $1.00 OVER THE USUAL PRICE

MAIL THIS COUPON

U N WORLD
385 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

I enclose $_____ for the gift subscriptions below:

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ Zone ____ State ____
My gift card should read:
From _____

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ Zone ____ State ____
My gift card should read:
From _____

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ Zone ____ State ____
My gift card should read:
From _____

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ Zone ____ State ____
My gift card should read:
From _____

My Name _____
Street _____
City _____ Zone ____ State ____

State of the World *continued*

smiling and persuasive schoolmaster who reproved rather than attacked, who seemed amazed that his suggestions were met with mistrust.

He succeeded to the extent of persuading many delegates that talks on atomic energy control should be resumed—if only to deprive the Russians of the propaganda advantage a refusal would give them.

Added to Vyshinsky's earlier call for a one-third cut in the armaments of the Big Five, the shift on the atom seemed even to suggest that East-West negotiations leading to a general understanding could be renewed.

The efforts of small nations' spokesmen, notably those of Colonel Hodgson of Australia, to seize this small promise to press for East-West discussions merely reflected the desperate apprehension and concern and desire of the entire world for rapprochement between the two snarling giants.

MARSHALL: In contrast to the fireworks in Vyshinsky's "warmonger" attack on the US and the West, the Assembly speech of US Secretary of State Marshall was calm, composed, careful. It expressed a mood of quiet rock-like resolution in its re-affirmation of human rights, and of the Western bloc's belief that agreement on international control of atomic energy must precede any proposals for disposing of the atom bomb.

On disarmament, Marshall declared that the US would favor "a progressive reduction in armaments as rapidly as the restoration of political confidence permits."

Aside from the question of how to set up the mechanics which would insure effective controls and safeguards for a world disarmament program, Marshall and Vyshinsky differed on what should come first, the creation of an atmosphere of "confidence" or the start of disarmament itself.

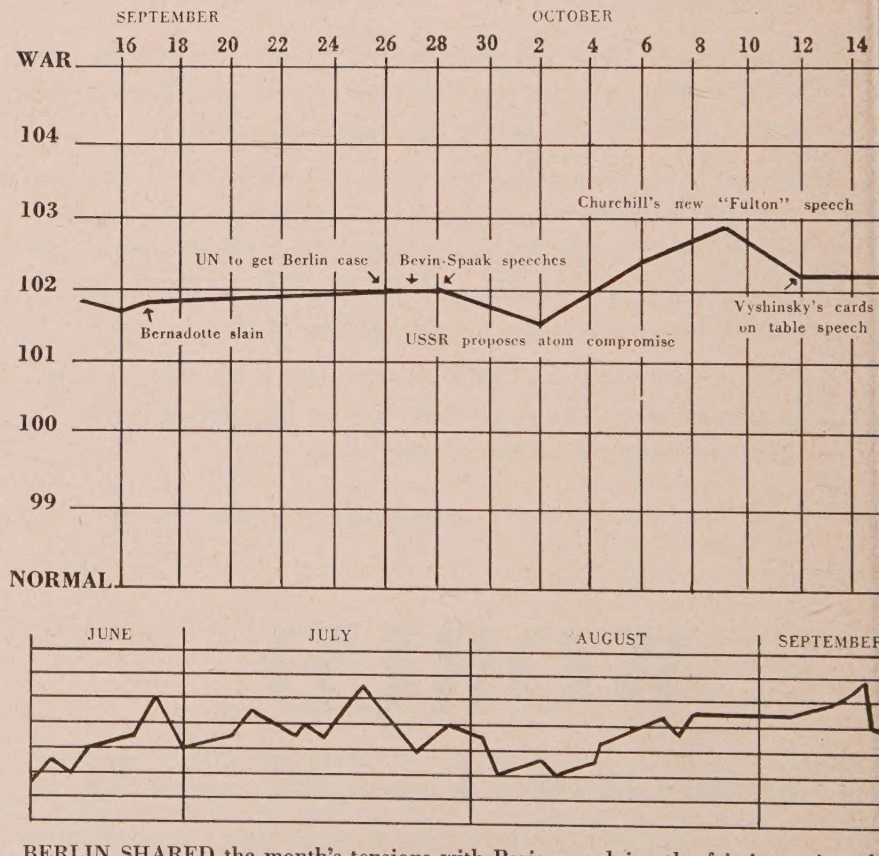
For hundreds of millions of people whose homes have been battlegrounds, this question of disarming holds first place. It is an issue deep in their hearts and hopes, since above all else they dread another war. Many delegates were inclined to follow the Marshall recommendation that the present atmosphere of tension and insecurity must be allayed and a more sanguine climate created, before disarmament discussions, by their nature delicate and difficult, can profitably be undertaken. Other delegates inclined toward the view that the very start of a Big Five conference to discuss disarmament would by itself do much to foster the mood of "confidence" for which Marshall asked.

BEVIN: Elaborating and underlining Marshall's stand, UK's Foreign Minister Bevin declared that "a feeling of security and confidence alone leads to disarmament. We do not believe that the converse is true." In his speech delivered with a solemn forcefulness, Bevin achieved a hybrid between the old Downing Street variety and a new kind of diplomacy. The cross resembles the traditional forms less than it does the collective bargaining technique of a socialist leadership schooled in the give and take of labor-management negotiations.

Thus, both British and Ameri spokesmen belatedly confirmed French approach of the twenties a thirties, the essence of which was reject both disarmament measu and better conditions for Germa before international "confidenc backed by collective security, h been effectively achieved. In the c ridors and lobbies of the Palais Chaillot, French delegates tactful but firmly, reminded their Ang American confreres that it had tak the latter at least 15 years to co to this same conclusion. Said one v eran of the Quai d'Orsay to a gro of Anglo-Americans: "Please reme ber that the same principles you n are applying to disarmament, at lo last, still apply—to an even grea extent—to any concessions toward resurgent Germany. We hope that won't be our fate 20 years her to have to say to you 'we told you about Germany."

SPAAK: After the spokesmen of t major powers had had their say, B gium's Premier Spaak stole the sho He offered a new approach. As t

FEVER CHART OF WORLD TENSION



BERLIN SHARED the month's tensions with Paris, supplying the friction point wh produced the high fevers of the month—though the hot words were spoken at UN meetings in Paris. Exception was the assassination of Bernadotte in Palest

epresentative of a very small coun-ry, his speech had to stand on its nerits. He could make no open or eiled allusions to military might. He efuted with a candor that combined ludgeon and rapier the USSR con-entions that the Western bloc is noving toward war. He pointed out hat in signing the Brussels pact, the JK, France and Benelux conformed o the letter and spirit of article 51 f the UN Charter which permits na-ions to band together for collective elf-defense.

He assailed the USSR accusations f Western imperialism by enumerat-ng the territorial additions acquired y the USSR over the past decade. He termed the USSR foreign policy 'more audacious, and more ambi-ious, than the foreign policy of the Tsars themselves." Lifting the char-acter of the debate to a loftier plane f statesmanship, he exclaimed "what rightens me is that I understand hat, at this time, humanity knows what should be done in order that t be saved. Humanity would like to do it. But its tragic destiny seems to render it incapable of doing it."

Moreover, Spaak added: "I know hat in certain quarters, compromises are not looked on with favor, but how can we come to agreement with one another, when we are so different rom one other, even if we fail to seek a compromise."

Having asked the question half the world had put to itself, Spaak gave he answer: "We should start," he said, "with a compromise."

Marshall's firmness and earnest-ness of manner commanded respect nd grave attention from all the dele-gates. Vyshinsky's bitter speech was given an ovation by his friends on he floor and by the gallery, where he disarmament proposal—as al-ways in popular audiences—found a trong echo. Bevin's vehemence won n ovation from the floor, dozens of delegates rising to applaud him. It emained for Spaak's valiance to bring both gallery and floor to their eet.

Thus, during the first days the As-embly was a forum for airing East-West differences, without necessarily clearing the air.

Nevertheless, the barometer of in-ernational tension did rise as the goal of each side became apparent—he capture of public opinion in a world-wide political war.

Paris Communists On Tenterhooks

PARIS: Two of France's most famous Communists are being closely watched of late. Intellectuals, particularly those within the CP, are watching with extreme interest the case of Louis Aragon, famous novelist, poet and editor of the pro-Communist daily, *Ce Soir*. The word is that the colorful poet will soon withdraw or be expelled for much the same "decadent and bourgeois" faults that Russian artists have recently been condemned. Statesmen, diplomats and military intelligence men are observing even more closely the second case. And it is obvious that, despite its own role, the CP is probably no better informed than the spectators and is itself watching with uneasiness and anxiety. The outcome is certain to affect, industrially and militarily, France, the Western Union, and the whole balance of power in Europe. The case is that of Frederic Joliot-Curie, protegé and son-in-law of the Curies and Nobel-prize physicist.

The paradoxical concern of the Communists is that Joliot-Curie, only avowed Communist to have a hand in Western atomic development, remains chief of France's atomic energy commission after all the other Communists have departed from important posts. Joliot-Curie's acceptance by successive anti-Communist cabinets in France makes him suspect by his own party brothers.

Western Union Gets the Heroes

LONDON: Selection of Britain's Chief of Staff Marshal Montgomery as supreme commander of Western Union forces is a clear case of a great hero having been kicked up a long flight of stairs. That of France's Insp. Gen. de Lattre de Tassigny as land forces commander is an example of a not-so-global hero being kicked not quite so high. (There was a knowing raising of eyebrows when Gen. Alphonse Juin turned down the land forces post before it was offered to de Lattre de Tassigny.)

The net result, in each case, is that the heel of a semi-deity who exploited his World War II achievements to gain hearings for not always welcome if more than ample advice on public questions is now honorably removed from an over-articulate vantage point into the high secrecy which necessarily attends discussion of military projects.

Personalities aside, WU's new Supreme Defense Council is a disappointment to many. Its established functions are so vague that it is merely a study and planning unit instead of what is considered in all quarters imperative — an operating general staff.

It is hoped in all the WU countries that multi-national responsibilities will inspire the two great generals to rise to the challenge of their new offices.

The World's Fate Arouses Tibet

LHASA: Ladakh is a remote and forgotten land, partly Tibetan, partly within the official confines of Kashmir —a region of great mountains, high intermont plains, salt lakes and roaring rivers—and deeply religious Buddhists to whom Lhasa is the world capital.

From Ladakh, via Tibet, there comes a report of warfare reminiscent of a thousand years ago: Muslim tribesmen whose depredations into Kashmir has brought counteraction by Indian Army troops, are now raiding, looting and pillaging Ladakh. As throughout Tibet, the centers of wealth, learning, even population, the monasteries. The report says Zan-kar-ri-dom monastery, one of the two largest, has been terribly damaged. At least 100 small monasteries have been looted, holy statues wantonly desecrated, innumerable priests ill-treated, others forced into conversion to Islam or slaughtered for refusal. The last has been the fate of hundreds of Buddhists. Even the few Christians are being subjected to forcible conversion.

The invaders are using light artillery against monasteries and hamlets; in one case, the report says, planes raided a defenseless monastery in the vicinity of the Tibetan border, dozens of days' journey from the nearest important line of communication.

Leave New York today — be in LONDON, PARIS, STOCKHOLM or ZURICH tomorrow! Enjoy KLM's famous *Royal Route* all the way.

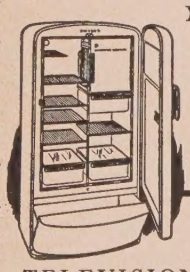
25% reduction on 30 day round trips effective October 1, 1948

SEE YOUR LOCAL TRAVEL AGENT. KLM Royal Dutch Airlines offices in New York, Miami, Chicago, Los Angeles, Montreal.

K·L·M
ROYAL DUTCH AIRLINES

MONARCH-SAPHIN

Special services and savings have made Monarch-Saphin the logical shopping center for visitors to New York from all the states, as well as South American and all other foreign countries.



Nationally Famous Merchandise Exclusively!

TELEVISION • RADIOS • PHONOGRAPHS • HOUSEHOLD ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES • REFRIGERATORS • WASHING MACHINES • DIAMONDS, WATCHES, JEWELRY OF EVERY DESCRIPTION • BICYCLES • SPORTING GOODS • ELECTRIC RAZORS • PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLIES • FOUNTAIN PENS • AND A THOUSAND AND ONE OTHER ITEMS.

Phone MUrray Hill 2-1470

"A New Type Department Store"

MONARCH-SAPHIN

56 West 45th St.·· OPEN THURS. TIL 9
Branch Store
HEMPSTEAD, 120 Main Street

State of the World *continued*

LHASA: It is reported from Tibet, the most inaccessible country in the world, that recently the three largest Tibetan monasteries dispatched one thousand monks each to attend a religious mass meeting at which public prayers were offered for the avoidance of a Third World War.

Communists Bear Down on Chiang

SHANGHAI: China was hit heavily by the Red Army last month. From Changchun to Chefoo numbers of government troops, with their officers and their arms, went over to the Communist side. The Chinese nationalist newspapers are all unanimously saying that the United States is partly responsible for the present situation. One said, "China's present gigantic struggle with the international Fifth Columnists will decide the peace of Asia and the security of the world."

Meanwhile, military supplies promised by the US were slow in arriving. Much of those received earlier are already in Communist hands, by the processes of capture, desertion and secret sale. Among the Communists it is said, "The arsenal is America; the Nationalist Army is the supply line." In addition, the Government reported that Russian type shells were being fired by the Communists.

Sweden's Quandary Is Her Neighbors

STOCKHOLM: Sweden's recently re-emphasized neutrality is explained by the price it has set for its adherence to the Western bloc. Swedish officials saw no point in throwing in with the West unless they got a promise of from 500,000 to 1,000,000 troops (from US, UK or both) to help them meet invasion from the East. The West couldn't promise such a force. On the contrary, Western spokesmen warned the Swedes that they would have to expect to be overrun and occupied, perhaps for a considerable length of time, before the West could liberate them.

Such prospects persuaded t Swedes that their best strategy is strengthen their own defenses as b they can and play ever more strong on Sweden's role as the traditio neutral.

A number of Swedes in positic of influence, however, are not so co mitted to neutrality that they wou reject an increased share of ERP a together with delivery from the and UK of vitally needed modern m terial and new tool designs for fense industries. They feel that strong Sweden—which already h the third most powerful air force Europe, exceeded only by UK a USSR—may persuade neighbor m itary staffs to re-vamp any strategi plans involving Scandinavia.

Certain high pro-neutral circles Stockhold argue that a neutral Sw den at the fringe of the USSR wou be of more use to the West than overt ally. Should war break out, t ally would be overrun but a neut could provide an advanced post f military intelligence, iron ore a strategic steels and, eventually, meeting ground for peace-make Westerners are inclined to rega this as wishful thinking—as are ma Swedes who fear guided missi from launching platforms along t eastern coast of the Baltic. Whetl wishful dreamers or not, certainly considerable minority of Swedes a convinced that, if well-prepared m itarily, they can again contrive to main neutral in a world war.

NOT EVEN A SLIP OF THE TONG

To the Editor:

In your printing of my article in the S tember number of UNITED NATIONS Wo there is an unfortunate misprint: page column 1, line 29 (not counting headlin "of" should be "or."

Although only one letter is wrong, implications are important, since, as print I seem to be saying that scientific progr is only possible under capitalism, whicl not my view. I shall be very grateful if will publish this correction.

BERTRAND RUSS

Lord Russell's choice of the word "r print" is not a euphemism. The "or" came "of" in transmission between Lon and New York. UNW is nonetheless ea to make the correction he requests.—Ed

Secret Diplomacy

Fails To Settle Berlin Crisis

Consciously on the part of delegates, instinctively on that of peoples around the globe, the Berlin issue was crux, core, and character-chart of the General Assembly. It was seen, and felt, that the issue was not only a struggle over a city, nor over the control of Germany itself, but above all a test of naked strength between East and West.

Once it was brought to the Security Council as a threat to peace, the questions of disarmament, outlawry of the atom bomb, international control of atomic energy, Greece, Korea, or human rights, all were overshadowed by the Berlin issue. It transcended them and in a sense contained them. And it follows that the fate of the Berlin dispute will suggest the direction of other events in the immediate and foreseeable future.

If the Berlin crisis should—as is unlikely—lead to war, the other questions will automatically be shelved for the duration. If, as appears more probable (see page 64), the Berlin crisis should result in a workable compromise, by means of UN intercession, the way would be clear for peaceable consideration of many other vexing concerns.

The special circumstances that lend this unique significance to the Berlin dispute are to be found in the discarding of the Woodrow Wilson doctrine of "open covenants, openly arrived at" and attempts to resolve the argument secretly outside the UN.

The UN had provided the Powers with both a forum and conference table for reconciling differences. But as postwar difficulties grew more complex, and the headlines screeched discord and diatribe in rising crescendo, the old argument that only the old-fashioned secret type of negotiations could really enable the diplomats to discuss and concede, without losing face, gained acceptance.

In contradiction to the theory, when the Big Four undertook secret negotiations in London, Washington and Moscow, the area of disagreement widened daily. In fact, while the public debates of *open* diplomacy produced a bumper-crop of hysterias, among peoples, they did not bring the nations anywhere near as close to war as did the secret sessions.

So airtight were the Moscow negotiations, that the world learned only after their breakup that they had failed with almost incalculable consequences, even though at one point they contained the potentialities of swift settlement which might have been seized on and made into fact if world public opinion had known of the opportunity and exerted its own pressure.

At the momentous meeting of the three Western envoys—Ambassador Walter Bedell Smith of the US, Frank K. Roberts, special envoy for the UK, Ambassador Yves Chataigneau of France—with Stalin in Moscow on August 2, he asked if they were ready and willing to settle the Berlin dispute that very night.

If so, he declared, he would meet with them, and offer the following proposals for a compromise: (1) USSR would remove all restrictions on travel to and from Berlin; (2) the simultaneous introduction in Berlin of the Soviet Zone Deutsche Mark to replace the Western Mark B. (3) the USSR would no longer consider the halting of steps toward formation of a Western German government as a condition for lifting the Berlin blockade. Stalin was eager, however, to have it recorded that the USSR had expressed the insistent wish that the problem of a Western German government be deferred until Four Power discussions were held on the German problem as a whole.

Coming as it did—after the pulling and hauling over blockade restriction imposed six weeks before and over the breakup (by Russia) of Berlin's Four-Power Council, after the tedious and thwarting exchange of notes with Molotov during most of the summer and in meetings preliminary to Stalin's offer—it is possible that the Western Envoys, conditioned by all this, did not perceive the very real opening for a satisfactory settlement.

While it is impossible to ascertain definitely whether or not Stalin's gambit expressed a really conciliatory policy, or whether it was merely another disconcerting move in the war of nerves, there can be no doubt that it presented to the Western Envoys a double-pronged opportunity.

They could have returned, as invited, the very same night or next morning with instructions from their respective governments, and thus taken the Berlin issue off the map of international tension and strife.

If upon their return, they had been confronted with dilatory amendments, or riders they would have at least proved to the rest of the world the good faith and good will of the West. Even if this latter eventually had transpired, and the details made public, it is highly probable that under the battering ram of world awareness and world judgment, the issue of the blockade and all it signifies, could have been composed before the Security Council ever had an opportunity to put Berlin on its agenda.

Hence, for the first time, a major issue arising out of World War II, and involving four of the major Allies, has been put before the UN, straining every fiber of a body which was not designed to undertake a task of this kind. Even if no positive solution is achieved by the Security Council, where the principle of Big Power unanimity still prevails, the sifting out of pros and cons at this high forum and the mediation efforts conducted by the smaller nations will enlighten the world as to the merits of the two opposing causes.

The probability that, should the Security Council's action fail to win a compromise, the entire issue will be referred to the General Assembly itself, comprises a potent incentive for the Big Powers to reach an accord. For, although the General Assembly has powers of recommendation only, its decisions carry with them a compelling force of world opinion.

World Files THE POLITICAL RECORD

POLES PROTEST BRITISH ACTION
September 1, London. Poland joined Czechoslovakia in protesting the British release of Dr. Wedislaw Dering, accused of Auschwitz atrocities. (212:48)

CHILE OUTLAWS COMMUNIST PARTY
September 2, Santiago. President of Chile signed a bill outlawing the Communist Party. (213:48)

CHINA MOVES TO TERMINATE SINO-SOVIET AIR AGREEMENT
September 2, Nanking. USSR notified of China's desire to end the Sinkiang airline agreement. (214:48)

USSR SEEKS AIR RIGHTS
September 25, Nanking. Russia asks renewal or extension of an agreement on exclusive air rights in western Sinkiang Province. (215:48)

USSR CHARGES ITALY WITH PACT VIOLATION
September 5, Moscow. USSR accuses Italy of "connivance" with the American, British and French in refusing to return 45 warships, violating peace treaty. (216:48).

RUSSIA DEMANDS TREATY SHIPS
October 7, Moscow. USSR reiterates demand for immediate delivery of her share of Italian naval units under the peace treaty. (216:48a)

YUGOSLAV NOTE TO GREECE
September 10, Belgrade. Yugoslavs demand that the Greeks return wounded and missing Yugoslav soldiers left in Greek territory after a border incident. (217:48)

US-SOVIET EXCHANGE RE: ITALIAN COLONIES
September 10, Washington. Soviet acceptance of meeting of four powers to discuss fate of Italian colonies on September 13, despite certain alleged violations of peace treaty. (218:48)
September 11, Washington. US note rejects Soviet interpretation of its notes, but accepts meeting date and place. (218-48a)

CHINA REGISTERS FOREIGN ASSETS
September 11, Nanking. September 30 set as deadline for registration of foreign assets deposited abroad by Chinese financial organizations. (219:48)

HUNGARY RE-ACCUSES YUGOSLAVIA
September 11, Budapest. In reply to a protest by Yugoslavia, Hungary repeated charges of Tito's orientation toward the West. (220:48)

INDIA-HYDERABAD RE: INVASION
September 12, New Delhi. Texts of the latest correspondence between India and Hyderabad reveal India feels justified in invading Hyderabad. Terms invasion "police action." (221:48)

US ACCUSES RUMANIA OF TREATY BREACH
September 14, Washington. US claims that nationalization legislation is discriminatory and therefore in violation of Rumania's peace treaty. (222:48)

PERON'S "MAGNA CARTA"
September 15, Buenos Aires. Secretary of Education orders all schools to explain "the importance of the constitutional reform which is going to fit our Magna Carta to the new social reality created by the will of the Argentines." (223:48)

FRENCH-SWISS EXCHANGE
September 18, Berne. France to indemnify Swiss government for Swiss nationals who lost their lives during the liberation of France. Swiss to use money for families of victims. (224:48)

USSR ANNOUNCES KOREAN WITHDRAWAL
September 19, Moscow. Soviet troops will be entirely withdrawn from Korea by January 1, 1949. (225:48)

US REPLY TO USSR RE: KOREAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL DEMAND
September 30, Washington. In reply to a Russian note of September 18 requesting "simultaneous and immediate" withdrawal of US and Soviet troops from Korea, US stated that the Korean matter must await action by the UN Assembly. (225:48a)

ETHIOPIANS REJECT US APOLOGY
September 20, Washington. US State Department's explanation to Ethiopian delegation in regard to an incident in which the Ethiopian Minister was asked to change seats at the opening session of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Constitution Hall was rejected by the Ethiopian Delegation. (226:48).

CZECHS ACCUSE US INTELLIGENCE
September 20, Prague. Claim that conspirators against Czech Government were trained by US Counter-Intelligence. (227:48)

WESTERN PROTEST TO ALBANIA
September 20, Washington. US, Britain and France charge Albania with failing to disarm Greek Communist refugees. (228:48)

INDONESIA'S PRESIDENT'S POWERS
September 20, Batavia. President granted unlimited power for three months by Indonesian Republic's Provisional Parliament to cope with Communist coup. (229:48).

PORTUGUESE-SPANISH PACT
September 20, Lisbon. Extend friendship and non-aggression pact inaugurated in 1939 for 10 years. (230:48)

DUTCH AMEND CONSTITUTION
September 20, The Hague. The first changes since 1922 include legalizing the equal partnership between the Netherlands and the components of the Empire and allowing municipal government to declare a stat siege in an emergency. (231:48)

CZECH PROTEST TO FRANCE
September 21, Paris. Czech Governm accusing Dr. Jan Papanek of having fa to return $115,000 belonging to the Cze slovak Red Cross and having swindled Treasury out of $10,000 demanded France extradite the former UN dele and send him to Prague for trial. (232:

US-HUNGARIAN EXCHANGE: RE: ARRESTS OF US OILMEN
September 21, Washington. US State partment declared it is taking "a ser view of the action by the Hungarian (ernment" and watching developments the arrest of two US citizens in Budap Karl Ruedemann and George Bannent of Hungarian-American Oil Co. (233:48
September 27, Washington. Charges by Hungarian Government against two Am can oil men are "wholly unfounded," State Department declares. (233:48a)

EAST-WEST BERLIN CONTROVER
September 22, Washington. Western pov deliver note to USSR seeking definite swer on Soviet intention of recogni their rights in Berlin. (234:48)
September 25, Moscow. In an author statement Tass declared that it is up to Western powers as to whether an ag ment can be reached on Berlin. (234:4
September 26, Paris. Foreign Ministers Western powers announce that the Be situation will be brought before the Se ity Council. (234:48b)
September 29, Paris. Note presented to retary General Lie by US, UK and Fra asking him to refer matter to the Secu Council. (234:48c)
October 4, Moscow. Soviet note places o of responsibility on Western powers, bla Marshall Plan, denies existence of bl ade or starvation possibility, or threat peace. (234:48d)

USSR ACCUSES FINLAND
September 25, Helsinki. USSR note mands disbandment of Finnish rifle cl charging members with target practicing violation of peace treaty. (235:48)

USSR-AFGHAN BORDER SETTL
September 29, Tashkent. Agreement f Soviet-Afghan border after two years' w by a joint commission. (236:48)

US-BOLIVIA AIR AGREEMENT
September 30, La Paz. Air transport ag ment defines rights and mutual concessi for air services between the two countr (237:48)

PAKISTAN 'AGGRESSION'
October 2, New Delhi. Nehru speaks Indian Government's determination to "f to the utmost, whatever happens, Pakist brutal, unforvigable aggression in K mir," in a broadcast on Ghandi's birthd (238:48)

Parfums

BOURJOIS

NEW YORK, *Distributor*

For the care of Your Investments

In the care of your security holdings you can be freed of detail and obtain safekeeping, investment, and other important services through the facilities afforded by this Company.

A Custody Account provides safekeeping of holdings, collection of income and other services, and the important advantage of readily available facilities in the financial center for purchase, sale, receipt, and delivery of securities on owners' instructions. ***An Investment Agency Account*** provides physical care of securities as in a Custody Account and investment advice and service.

Descriptive booklets and fee schedule on request.

Guaranty Trust Company of New York

Capital Funds, $365,000,000

140 Broadway
New York 15

Fifth Avenue at 44th Street
New York 18

Madison Avenue at 60th Street
New York 21

Rockefeller Plaza at 50th Street
New York 20

Letter from the Publisher

THE first issue of the UNITED NATIONS WORLD (British) has received mo gratifying acclaim from statesmen, UN officials in Paris and British pu lications. The *Times* of London in its lead article, published before the U Third Assembly opened in Paris, pointed out that "the broad lines of [Foreig Minister Bevin's] attitude toward the Assembly [had been made] apparent the first British number of UNITED NATIONS WORLD which has just appeared The *Manchester Guardian* referring to the American edition in an editori said: "this American periodical . . . has been doing an excellent job popularis ing . . . the international news." The *London News Chronicle* in an editori by A. J. Cummings said: "The first number is an admirable production."

The first two books published by our new Book Division are now off th press. The first (see below) was the 1063 page French language edition of th *UN Yearbook* published by us in Paris. The second was *Everyman's Unite Nations*, a popular, authoritative guide to the UN, edited by the Department Public Information of the UN, and published by UNW and Funk and Wa nalls.

Among the most interested spectators at the meetings of the General Assembl in Paris were the members of the UNITED NATIONS WORLD Tour. This distin guished group—of which Mrs. William Dick Sporborg of the American Fe eration of Womens' Clubs was a leader—arrived in Europe aboard the U Line's SS *America*, and the Cunard Line's *Queen Mary*. Also on the *Americ* were members of the American UN delegation, including Senator Austin, Mr Roosevelt and Chester Williams, Public Liaison Officer of the US Delegatio En route under the auspices of UNW, all three of them took part in U seminars for Tour members.

The UNW Tour group was entertained in Paris at an official luncheon an reception attended by high officials of the UN and ECA and various delega tions. They were also guests at a reception to meet officials of the Frenc government.

Both the British and American editions of UNITED NATIONS WORLD wer conspicuous at the Palais de Chaillot and were closely read and frequentl quoted by members of the delegations of the Secretariat. Particularly note was the fact that UNITED NATIONS WORLD in a prescient editorial in it August 1948 issue called for reference of the Berlin dispute to the UN—"th only open road to Berlin."

Egbert White

CONGRATULATIONS—from President Auriol of France—to UNW's Editor Dolivet—on the UN *Yearbook*—in French. At right, Act. Asst. Secretary General tor Gjesdal

EDITORIAL BOARD:
Richard J. Walsh, *Chairman*
Pearl S. Buck
Eliot Pratt
William L. Shirer
Fred Smith
Vernon Pope, *Director*

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:
Thomas Mann
Jawaharlal Nehru
Vincent Sheean
Lin Yutang

INTERNATIONAL EDITOR:
Louis Dolivet

MANAGING EDITOR:
Charles Burns

SENIOR EDITOR:
Ladislas Farago

NEWS EDITOR:
Alexander S. Trop

WORLD BUSINESS EDITOR:
Herbert Harris

ART CONSULTANT:
Tobias Moss

ART DIRECTOR:
Kenneth Audroué

PICTURES AND PRODUCTION:
Pearl M. Steinhaus

BOOKS, ART, TRAVEL:
Tibor Koeves

ASSISTANT EDITORS:
Anne Palmos, Jeanne Washabaugh*, M. M. Goebel*, Anne Berry

ROVING CORRESPONDENT:
A. Ronald Schiller

FOREIGN EDITORS:
Riccardo Bauer *(Rome)*; Gunnar Fagrell *(Stockholm)*; Vincent de Pascal *(Montevideo)*; Jenaro Fernandez MacGregor *(Mexico City)*; Francis Noel-Baker *(London)*; *Leo Lania (Eastern Europe).*

PUBLISHER:
Egbert White

GENERAL MANAGER:
Richard D. Mathewson

CIRCULATION DIRECTOR:
Margaret Stern

THE COVER

Evatt of Australia—for a co-worker's opinion, see the article on pages 62-63.

*On duty at the General Assembly in Paris.

UN WORLD THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

CONTENTS, November 1948 *Vol. 2, No. 10*

ARTICLES

Where the World Stands—the choice is UN or oblivion 12 *Anthony Eden*

America's Aim—A World of Free Men 14 *Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg*

Reaffirming the Faith of a Man in Men 17 *Edouard Herriot*

The UN Military Staff Committee—a secret wrapped up in a mystery 20 *Emery Kelen*

Paradox of Austria—a liberated country ruled like a conquered enemy 24 *Leo Lania*

Proteins and Procreation—why contraception and abortion are UN problems 28 *David Loth*

The UN Record—text and maps reporting what UN has accomplished 31 *The Editors*

Heaven for Gringos—dollars are bigger and work lighter in Mexico 35 *Frances Woodrow Hadley*

STATE OF THE WORLD

The Cold War Becomes a Political Struggle 1 *The Editors*

World Files—a digest of international documents 9, 55 *Pearl M. Steinhaus*

UNITED NATIONS DIARY

Report from the Palais—what the UN has and has not done in Paris 56 *Jeanne Washabaugh*

Jailbird of the UN 58 *Evelyn G. Kessel*

International Interdependence Day 59 *Morris Weeks, Jr.*

Temporary Home—how it feels to work in a museum 61

The Man on the Left of the President—Cordier of Ohio 62

WORLD BUSINESS

Electric Power—foundation of empires 45 *The Editors*

The UN and American Business 49 *Herbert Harris*

A World Trade Expert Lays Down the Economic Law 50 *Morris S. Rosenthal*

The Fate of America's Merchant Fleet 52 *George L. Killion*

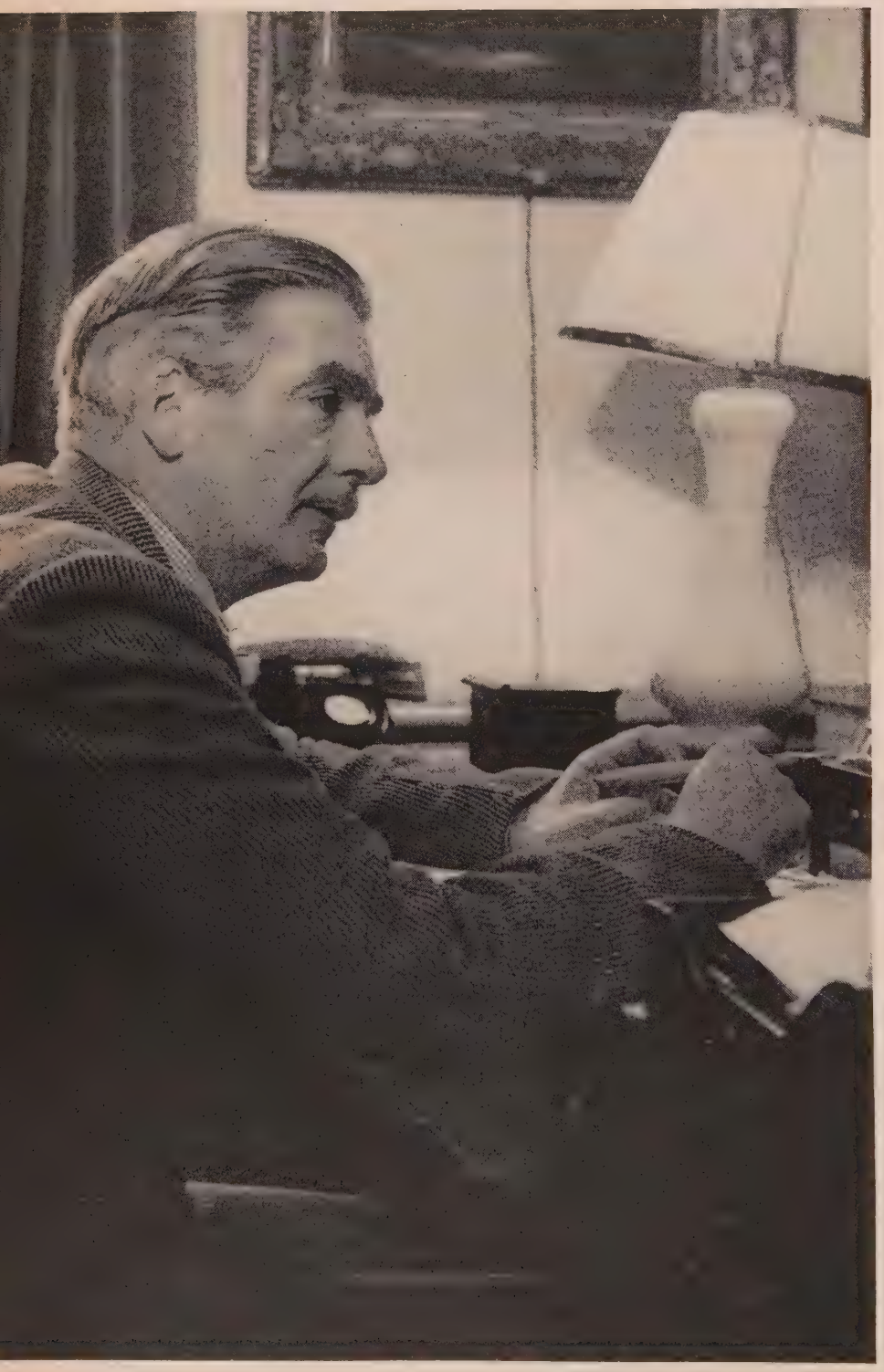
BOOKS

Battle Over the Bones of FDR—a biographer's analysis 39 *Karl Schriftgiesser*

EDITORIAL

Armed Stalemate Without War 64 *Louis Dolivet*

SUBSCRIPTIONS: $4.00 one year, $7.00 two years, $9.00 three years. Foreign postage, outside United States possessions, Western Hemisphere nations and Spain, $1.00. Postage to APO and FPO addresses, free. Single copyprice,35c. Copyright 1948 by U. N. World, Inc., 385 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y. All rights reserved under the Pan-American Copyright Convention and International Copyright Union.



THE AUTHOR AT HIS DESK IN HIS COUNTRY HOME, BINDERTON, IN SUSSEX.

A UN FOUNDER SURVEYS THE PROBLEMS IT FACES TODAY

THE ISSUE WAS CLEAR THREE AND ONE HALF YEARS AGO IT IS IMPERATIVE NOW— WE MUST CHOOSE THE UN OR OBLIVION

WORLD SURVIVAL DEMANDS A WORLD OF NATIONS SUBMISSIVE TO WORLD LAW

Anthony Eden was Foreign Secretary in the Churchill Government which fought and won the war for the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth. At San Francisco in the spring of 1945, when victory was sure and peace seemed susceptible of being so made, Mr. Eden was chief of the British delegation and helped draw up the United Nations Charter. Three and a half years after that great work was done, he is none too pleased with the outcome. Because he is in a special position to gauge how far the UN has come from the goal set for it, UNITED NATIONS WORLD is particularly gratified to publish this evaluation by Mr. Eden.

Anthony Eden Reports

on where the world stands and the stand it must take if its people are to survive

IN THE PRESENT troubled state of the world, the words "United Nations" seem utterly at variance with our deepening anxieties in international affairs. These anxieties tend to overshadow the admirable and valuable work being done by the organizations of United Nations for the development of economic, cultural, and social life among the nations, and the achievements of UNRRA [Relief and Rehabilitation Administration] in the period immediately following the end of the war.

We wholeheartedly endorse the ideals underlined by United Nations. It is no longer possible to hope that progress can be made along the lines of the old policies of nationalism and self sufficiency.

In the situation which confronts us today, it is clear that despite modern developments of travel and communication, the barriers between countries are unhappily in every way more formidable than they were before the war. If our civilization is to survive, and the ever-growing populations are to be able to exist free from the shadow of want, we must seek to break down this system of barriers. We must build in its place a comity of nations who abide by the rule of law and who are prepared to merge some part of their national sovereignty with the wider powers of UN.

The world must come to a general acceptance of the principle that all who wish to do so should be able to enjoy the liberties laid down by the Atlantic Charter.

National and personal security are the ideals of all peoples, and to achieve these the common folk of all lands must support the endeavors of the United Nations.

There is unfortunately a deplorable tendency for the open deliberations of the United Nations to be used as a sounding-board for ideologies rather than for their true purpose of discussing common achievements and the methods of surmounting common difficulties. This is a distortion of the spirit of the Charter and a denial of the aims and ideals with which the founders of the UN were inspired.

There are some who suggest that there may be a short cut to the solution of present difficulties by alterations to the Charter, such as the abolition or the limitation of the veto. There are some who attach excessive importance to written constitutions and rules of procedure and who hope that by devising the perfect formula they will produce a modern Utopia. The truth is that progress will be made only if we can promote international confidence and understanding among nations.

The Charter, imperfect though it may be, could be made to work, provided that the will to do so is there. No machinery can compel nations to agree. In my experience it is the human factor rather than the mechanical shortcomings that causes failure. More damage can be done to the UN by sidetracking it than by overworking it. Only by using the machinery can the organization gain the authority which it so sorely needs and for which peace-loving peoples so fervently pray.

We shall founder in world chaos unless the United Nations can enforce and express the interdependence between nations that exists today. There is no hope of the United Nations' achieving this unless the nations accept a standard of good faith in their relations with one another and conduct their affairs in this spirit.

It is of the first importance that the peoples of the world be brought to realize that United Nations is no mere "political arrangement," but the only means by which peace can be secured and prosperity enhanced. It is therefore essential that all who have the cause of peace at heart should be firm in their support of United Nations and the principles for which it stands. If we lose sight of the principles, we shall forego the prize. And the prize is the greatest that the human race has to win.

Senator Vandenberg

Outlines the American Aim—

A World of Free Men

I WANT America to live in a free world of free men. I believe in justice under law for nations as well as people. I believe in a "live-and-let-live" world which recognizes the independent right of self-determination. I do not believe it can be gained by surrender to conquest or appeasement.

I believe that collective action is necessary to a peace worth keeping. I believe this peace is possible. I believe our united American leadership, within its means, is indispensable to these achievements. I believe its exercise is inseparable from our own self-interest.

I believe in a strong America on land and sea and in the air pending those happier days when peace through reason is a dependable concept. I believe in a strong America at those councils where this concept is relentlessly pursued by the moral and spiritual forces of humankind.

We are not dodging the finger of responsibility which destiny points at this most powerful, free nation on the globe. Free souls and self-government are the precious stakes, here and everywhere. Dark horizons are th alternative. Ours is an obligation leadership and example.

President Theodore Roosevelt sa of us:

"We have no choice, we the peop of the United States, as to whether not we shall play a great role in t world. That has been determined f us by fate, by the march of even We have to play that part. All th we can decide is whether we sha play it well or ill."

If that was so in 1908, its truth— underscored through the intervenin

UN REPUBLICANS—VANDENBERG, DEWEY AND JOHN FOSTER DULLES

BY ARTHUR H. VANDENBER

Chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee

THE HUMANITIES, NOT CONQUES IS OUR GOAL

AGREEMENT, NOT DISAGREEMEN IS OUR METHOD

HAMPERED THOUGH IT HAS BEE THE UN IS STILL OUR HOPE OF ACHIEVING THE ENDS WE SEEK

/ears—is even greater in 1948. I hink we have made the great deci-ion. We have decided, God willing, o "play it well."

The difficulty is that often we must 'play by ear." There is no sure course. Each step is a calculated risk. No man can say with finality: "This is the way." Yet some axioms are obvious. One is that peace without justice is only an uneasy truce. Another is that the appeasement of aggressors only multiplies the hazards from which we seek escape. Another is that we never voluntarily exchange the council chamber for the battlefield except as an unescapable last resort. Another is that we always scrupulously respect the rights of others with the same fair consideration which we demand for our own. Another is that we say what we mean and mean what we say.

Our over-riding aim is not to contain Russia. Our purpose is not to Americanize Europe. Our objective is to return Europe to the Europeans—and take them off the dole. When this is done, our objective is to retire from a Europe which has re-stabilized itself.

If our purposes excite any contrary suspicion in Moscow, and if it is feared that our anxiety to re-establish German autonomy portends an ultimate resurgence of Axis aggression, let there be an immediate renewal of our proposal for an automatic big-four power alliance of defense aaginst any such resurgence for 50 years—a proposal which Moscow has thus far spurned.

The Soviet vetoes inside the United Nations have disclosed the same world-split which exists outside the United Nations. Peace-with-justice looks down a gun barrel in both instances. As a result, there is wide discussion among our people regarding new procedures to make the United Nations more competent to deal with wrecking crews. It is significant that this discussion rarely proposes to abandon collective peace. It is significant that almost all proposals hunt for more effective power to deal with them.

This is neither the time nor the place to explore these alternatives. Suffice it to say for myself that I favor the trial of curative devices within the Charter rather than the more ambitious—and I fear less practicable—plans which hold less hope for prompt results. Specifically, I favor thorough trial of Article 51 as a basis for developing regional groupings of nations with a common peace interest—always subordinate, of course, to the obligations of the parent Charter.

I favor the thesis endorsed June 11 last by the overwhelming vote of the United States Senate which recommended "progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements for individual and collective self-defense in accordance with the purposes, principles and provisions of the Charter."

In all realism and humility let us never forget—with thankfulness to God and a just regard for others—that one of the reasons for our relative eminence today is the fact that not one bomb fell on the continental United States in two World Wars. This does not discount the immensity of the magnificent fighting effort which we brought triumphantly to bear upon our own and the Allied victory. But it recognizes our advantage in having had those Allies, including Russia.

We could not expect a similar immunity again. But simple, common sense tells us that our strength multiplies in proportion as other like-thinking, peace-loving peoples can persevere in their independence and their ideals. Our own strength thus multiplies for peace and our own peace thus multiplies its strength against a war which not even the victor can afford to win, and which sanity will prevent—if this sanity is reciprocal.

NO NATION TODAY CAN SURVIVE IN ISOLATION

This is not the world of yesterday when the oceans were moats around our ramparts. Science has annihilated time and space and made of the earth an overnight community. Progress in the swift, grim business of mass destruction has been appalling. New shadows of subversion and aggression cross the paths of all free Governments.

Simple, common sense warns us that these new conditions demand the widest possible pursuit of international co-operation and collective security for peace for the sake of all independent Governments, our own emphatically included. For example, world disarmament, with automatic disciplines against bad faith, can only be a partnership affair. So too with effective warnings to aggressors that their piracy is not going to be allowed to pay. Furthermore Western civilization cannot safely be left to precarious survival on any one isolated island even though it be our own.

We shall keep our powder dry. We shall not lean upon illusions. But let us never forget that we powerfully serve ourselves when we help others to help themselves to stand upon their own free and independent feet.

It is important for us in America to realize that in the last three years as the result of constructive collaboration we have produced to a remarkable extent a united, unpartisan voice for America in defense of those elemental ideals of justice and of liberty by which free men live, here and everywhere. Despite fragmentary and often pitiful discords, we have spoken as the United and not the Disunited States.

PARTISAN DISCUSSION BUT UNITED ACTION

This does not mean that we have silenced our traditional process of democratic debate—nor should it. It does not mean that we have surrendered to rubber-stamp dictation as is the totalitarian fate of communized countries whose people live by sufferance rather than by right. It does not mean that we all agree upon all the patterns we pursue.

But it does mean that, regardless of partisan politics, through full and free discussion we strive for common ground where our minds substantially can meet upon solid, basic attitudes. Then these attitudes, through predominating unity, can give American authority the moral power best calculated to lead us and the world away from the tragedy of new aggression and the unutterably ugly consequence of war.

It has been my privilege to participate in this labor. But the thing I am trying to say is that all such labors are vain without the widest sharing of these concepts. In the work of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee seven Republicans and six Democrats, after long travail and often after drastic editing, voted unanimously (thirteen to nothing) upon 49 treaties, agreements, bills

SYMBOLS OF BIPARTISANISM. In the middle Senator Vandenberg who succeeded as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. Tom Connally, right. Both Senato have served as UN representatives with Ambassador Austin, le

Senator Vandenberg *continued*

and resolutions many of transcendent importance, in the Eightieth Congress.

We unanimously closed ranks 49 times! I do not disguise my pride in that unique record of service at a moment when America's opponents are waiting to "divide and conquer" us both at home and abroad.

Nor is that all. This substantial unity has carried on into heavy, unpartisan majorities in the Congress itself. It has dominated the final court of American public opinion.

Moreover, we Americans are united in a spirit of world service which puts to shame the miserable slanders that selfish imperialism is our aim. Our chief foreign critics upon that score would do well to consult a mirror. That's where they will see imperialism on the march. The humanities, not conquest, are our goal. If stabilities and honorable peace shall fall, it will not be for want of our devoted trying.

The United Nations was born with the prayers, the blessings and the hopes of a war-weary world, including the overwhelming benediction of the people of the United States. We all recognize its limitations. No one thought it perfect, least of all those of us who struggled at San Francisco to make it as sound as possible in the light of previous commitments and in the presence of unfolding Soviet intransigence. It was not intended to make but to keep a peace that never has been made. But no sooner was it launched—and long before its essential implements were provided—it became the seething core of the cold and calculated controversy through which the Soviets deliberately have made peace impossible.

It was asked to run before it had even learned to walk. The wonder is not that it has stumbled. The wonde is that it has kept its feet at all. Th wonder is that it continues to be th central reliance of those peace-lovin nations of the earth who prefer t talk things out rather than sho them out. It continues to be "the tow meeting of the world" where the co science of mankind can speak thos moral verdicts which some day wi have a powerful impact on event Despite its handicaps, its limitatio and its failures, I hesitate to thin what would have happened in the la two years if its forum and its r straints, however feeble, had been u available.

And that goes for this prese critically dangerous hour, come wh may. The greater the world's rifts th greater the world's need for an em pire.

The UN's Military Staff Committee

A SECRET WRAPPED UP IN A MYSTERY

Caricatures and characteristics—See page 2

DESPITE THE GRAVE CONFLICT BETWEEN EAST AND WEST
AND SUBSIDIARY SQUABBLES,
HIS CONFIDENCE IN MANKIND'S ABILITY TO ENFORCE PEACE
IS CONFIRMED BY THE EXAMPLE OF THE AMERICAN NATIONS

Edouard Herriot reaffirms the faith of a man in men

THE AUTHOR—EDOUARD HERRIOT IS STILL A FIGHTER FOR PEACE

THE International situation is admittedly far from bright. Those of us who have worked all our lives for the idea of solidarity among peoples find little cause for comfort. We have come to an impasse, or rather to a series of impasses.

A test of strength is joined between Europe's West and East. The Italian colonies tangle is but one aspect of that test. Distrust prevails everywhere. Solutions which could bring about a more or less partial peace, are being retarded by fears of nations which, anticipating possible conflicts, attempt to secure aerial or naval bases. There is contention over Berlin. There is hard bargaining at Moscow. The Tito affair causes grave tension not only inside Yugoslavia but also between that country and Rumania and Hungary. The Czechoslovak regime gives rise to quarrels which permeate even international student bodies. Divergences of views appear in a wide variety of places.

Meanwhile Mr. Bevin, speaking before the House of Commons on September 15, opposes the calling of a European Assembly and any steps toward a federal [European] constitution pending consultation with the representatives of the Commonwealth. Furthermore Mr. Bevin comes out in favor of a cautious and gradual method thus contradicting Messrs. Schuman and Spaak [who would move more rapidly]. One can well understand that a statesman as informed as

Faith of a Man *continued*

he, should be mindful not only of European peace but of the peace of the world. In his view the Malayan incidents are aimed at the Western Powers. The Netherlands are sending their Minister of Foreign Affairs to Washington to study there the plan of a Dutch-Indonesian Union. Europe no longer seems to be the master of its own destiny.

Has one ever seen a more disorganized world? The Palestinian question raises problems which are not of a purely regional character, for the interests of European states are quite apparently and very directly involved. The mediators, Count Bernadotte and Colonel Serot, as well as several French officers die at the hands of assassins, victims of their devotion to the cause of peace and reconciliation.

A superficial observer could feel discouraged. It will not be so in my case. In all important landmarks of my life I recall the example of the glorious Marshal Foch. When his defenses were overrun, instead of beating a retreat, he said: "I am threatened on all sides. I am attacking. Forward!"

IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE— A PAUSE FOR COUNSEL

I am not renouncing my efforts for peace. But what course to take? Al- still legitimate to have recourse to armed force even though the Charter outlaws war. Indeed, let us recall the ready, the world over, there are many disappointed minds who believe in the inevitability of a new war. That is an attitude of weakness and resignation unworthy of a courageous fighter for peace. In order to forestall war, some people have been wondering whether we could not bring about an international understanding whereby the present status quo could be guaranteed during a period of at least 20 years. This, they feel, could enable the UN to continue its efforts and thus prepare the establishment of an international government which would guarantee world peace.

This idea, at first sight, appears infinitely tempting. But under scrutiny it does not appear to be in harmony with the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter. An arrangement of this kind would imply, whether one likes it or not, that it is preamble of this document: The Peoples of the United Nations undertake to "live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, to unite [their] strength to maintain international peace and security, to insure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest."

A 20-year truce then would set us back. It would substitute a temporary contract for commitments which the United Nations Charter considers permanent. May I be allowed to add that most serious drawbacks resul from the multiplication and superim position of facts. The "pactomania of the period preceding the last wa was justly derided. The United Na tions have signed the Charter. Amon them were included not only th USSR with Mr. Gromyko and the U with Mr. Stettinius but the Byelo Russian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Ukraine Soviet Socialist Re public as well. The signatures unde these commitments cannot be re neged. Substitute signatures might b hard to secure and of uncertain value

What is more, article 2 of th Charter states that "all members (o the UN) shall settle their interna tional disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that the internationa peace and security and justice are no endangered. All members shall re frain in their international relation from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or po litical independence of any state, o in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

The principles are thus stated and they are excellent. The commitments are made and they are formal.

Article 4 of the Charter admits as members of the United Nations only *peace-loving* states which accept the obligations, are capable of fulfilling them and disposed to do so.

Article 33, paragraph 1, outlines the means to which peace-loving nations can and must have recourse. The Security Council is empowered to intervene to set these procedures in motion.

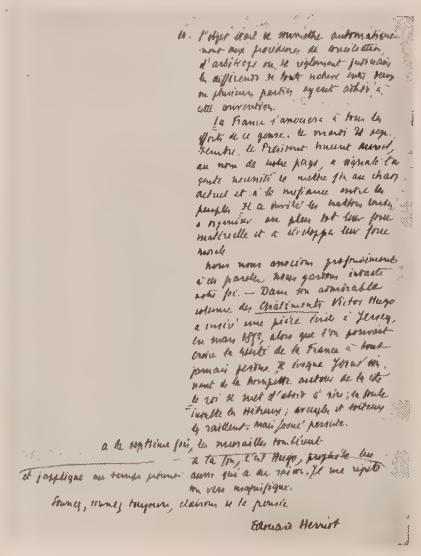
THE REGIONAL AGREEMENT AS A FORCE FOR PEACE

To accept the concept of a temporary truce would be for the UN to admit impotence and failure. It would bring us back to the ancient practices contrived for the interruption of private wars among families. Philip Augustus once issued an ordinance, later renewed by Louis IX in 1245, forbidding the waging of private war in order to avenge an insult before 40 days had elapsed from the time of the offense. The Middle Ages also knew the institution of "Asseurements," in which the king was besought to stave off the attack of an aggressor. Philip the Fair forbade private wars while national wars were in progress. The Church instituted the "Truce of God" which forbade hostilities from

THE LITERATE M. HERRIOT HIRES NO GHOST

Edouard Herriot produced the accompanying article with a pen and a sheaf of paper. The final, signed page of his manuscript is at right.

The article, written exclusively for UNITED NATIONS WORLD, is in a crabbed but clear hand on the back of 10 letterheads. Five bear the crest of the city of Lyons and the legend, "*Le Maire*," and five the words: "*Republique Francaise—Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité—Assemblée Nationale—Le President.*" M. Herriot has been mayor of Lyons—except for the war years—since 1905. He has been in the lower house of Parliament since 1919 and president, from time to time, since 1925.



Wednesday night until Monday morning during days devoted to sacred services, and even for longer periods of time—from Advent to the Epiphany and from Quinquagesima to Pentecost. But these were merely expedients and one would despair of human progress if we could not do better. The effort which must be made seems to entail the *generalized use of peaceful settlement procedures and the making of these procedures as much as possible compulsory.*

In other words we must tend to give to Article 33 of the Charter all its meaning and all its effectiveness. It would be then only in case of a failure of the procedures that the Security Council would be called upon to intervene. What is more, Chapter 8 of the United Nations Charter envisages *regional agreements or regional organizations* which are designed to settle problems which involve the maintenance of international peace and security. *All the necessary machinery has been provided. It must now be put to work.*

The Charter signed at Bogotá on April 30, 1948, by the American nations provides a positive example. Through this document all America proposes honorably "to offer a man a land of liberty and an environment propitious to the full development of his personality and to the achievement of his just aspirations." In this wise America condemns everything that may stem from a totalitarian regime and from political fanaticism. It links the New World's fate to that of democratic institutions within the framework of the United Nations Organization whose commands America applies to itself.

Articles 20, 21, 22 and 23 of Chapter 4 of the Bogotá Charter outline the procedures for peaceful settlement of disputes through: direct negotiation, good offices, mediation, inquiry, conciliation, judiciary procedures, and arbitration. Article 22 says: "In the event that a dispute arises between two or more American States which, in the opinion of one of them, cannot be settled through the usual diplomatic channels, the parties shall agree on some other peaceful procedure that will enable them to reach a solution."

This is wisdom itself. In acting in this manner America remains faithful to the thinking of Simón Bolívar, one of the greatest minds humanity ever produced. I have in mind the Congress which he called at Panama in 1824, as well as that other assembly in 1826, out of which grew a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance between the various republics of South America. Once more America is setting the example for Europe where unfortunately national passions and ideological convictions are more deeply rooted than on the other continents. One must, however, bear in mind that the Brussels' Pact in its Article VIII contains stipulations analogous to those of the Bogotá Pact.

We Europeans must meditate upon the admirable speech made by President Truman at the final session of the Rio Conference on September 2, 1947. "The Old World is exhausted." said he, "its civilization imperiled. Its peoples are suffering. They are confused and filled with fears for the future. Their hope must lie in this New World of ours. The sick and the hungry cannot build a peaceful world. They must have the support of the strong and the free. . . . The benefits of peace, like the crops in the field, come to those who have sown the seeds of peace. It is for us, the young and the strong, to erect the bulwarks which will protect mankind from the horrors of war—forever. The United States seeks world peace, *the peace of free men.*"

THERE IS CAUSE FOR HOPE, THERE IS ROOM FOR FAITH

I can assure President Truman that many Frenchmen will exert themselves until their last breath to aid him in his generous task. If I am well-informed the General Assembly of the United Nations will during its current session endeavor to push the idea of peace one step further *to add a general convention to the plurilateral conventions already established. To this end it will attempt to adapt to current conditions the General Act of Geneva of 1928,* whose object it was to submit automatically to procedures of conciliation and arbitration or judicial settlement all disputes between two or more parties which have adhered to this convention.

France will participate in all efforts of this kind. On September 21, President Vincent Auriol, speaking in the name of our country, pointed out the urgent necessity to put an end to chaos and distrust among peoples. And he invited the United Nations to organize as soon as possible material force and to develop moral force.

We associate ourselves deeply with these words. We preserve intact our faith.

In his admirable work *Châtiments* Victor Hugo has inserted a piece written on the Island of Jersey in March, 1852, at a time when one could have believed that liberty in France was lost forever. He was, like Joshua, blowing his trumpet outside the city walls. The king laughed at first; the populace insulted the Hebrews; the blind and the lame scorned them. But Joshua persisted. And at the seventh trumpet blast the walls crumbled.

In the end it was Hugo, himself a prophet, who was right. I repeat to myself and apply to the present times his magnificent verse:

"Ring out, always ring out, ye clarions of thought."

Friendly, Liberated, Conquered Austria

READ LEO LANIA'S ANALYSIS OF A PARADOX

An exclusive article on page 24

AN UNOFFICIAL REPORT—

SOME WILL CALL IT AN IMPERTINENT ONE—

ON THE UNITED NATIONS'

Military Staff Committee

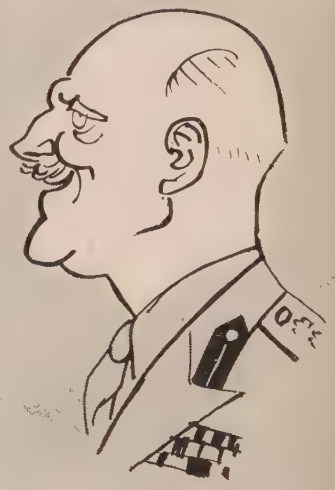
ITS ACTIVITIES ARE A SECRET

WRAPPED UP IN A MYSTERY

BY EMERY KELEN

In anticipation of completion of the United Nations' third year on October 24, the editors of UN WORLD made the assignment of which these pages are the fruit: an unofficial, quizzical, sociable report in text and caricature on the UN's Military Staff Committee. Less is known about the work and the members of this Committee than any other UN agency. The reason is simple. It does almost nothing in almost complete secrecy. The reason it has not fulfilled its function—to prepare ways and means for the creation of a world peace force—is also simple. Its members do not agree. The motivation behind the reason is more complex and is inextricable from the East-West cold war which so bedevils the world today.

The original aim was to present Committee members as portrayed in drawings only by the famous caricaturist, Emery Kelen—co-author-artist of *Derso and Kelen's UN Sketchbook,* which will be published next spring by Funk and Wagnalls. However, Mr. Kelen submitted with his drawings the following report. His writing shows witty penetration similar to that exhibited by his sketching pencil. The editors, aware of its interest, reproduce his comment herewith.



Gen. Sir Edwin L. Morris, UK

Admiral H. K. Hewitt, US

Lt. Gen. P. Billotte, France

MY ASSIGNMENT to make personality sketches of the members of the United Nations Military Staff Committee presupposed that I would be permitted to work in their meeting place—the United Nations Manhattan Building, 405 E. 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

I began by approaching Audrey Langston, United Nations photo-liaison officer at Lake Success who told me to telephone Lt. Col. L. W. Truman, Secretary to the United States delegation and a kinsman of the President, a very co-operative officer in cases like mine. So I called Colonel Truman and told him that, as a free-lance artist accredited to the United Nations, I had been assigned by UNITED NATIONS WORLD to draw portraits of the members of the Military Staff Committee. I did not mention the word caricature. I asked him to help me approach the members.

"Ask me anything," he said, "but not that."

"Perhaps I could see them before a meeting," I suggested.

"That's impossible."

"Maybe after the meeting is over?"

"Impossible."

"What do you suggest?"

"Call Colonel Chang. This month we have a Chinese chairman, and Colonel Chang is Acting Secretary of the Committee."

I decided to tackle Colonel Chang face to face. A sentinel at the Information Desk in the Manhattan Building asked my name and qualifications, and then phoned Colonel

Chang, who consented to receive me.

"Fourth floor," said my inquisitor.

Colonel Chang was sympathetic.

"How long does it take to make such a drawing?" he inquired.

"Three minutes."

"Why not do it at the entrance to the building?"

"How can I? Hundreds of people are going in and out. How am I to recognize the proper men? Can't I be stationed on the floor where the meetings are held and watch them coming out of the elevator?"

Colonel Chang paled. "The seventh floor?" he whispered. "I cannot take such responsibility."

Meantime another Chinese colonel joined us. A discussion developed between the two colonels as to whether my request was a matter of substance or procedure, and whose competency it was to give me permission to stand next to the elevator on the seventh floor.

"Perhaps the chairman?" hazarded the second colonel.

"The gentleman says he comes from Lake Success. Perhaps we should ask the Secretary General."

The conversation then dissolved into Chinese. As a result of it. Colonel Chang turned to me and said, "I'll have to submit your case to the Conference of Secretaries. I'll call you up."

The next day, Colonel Chang let me know that the Conference of Secretaries had ruled no one was entitled to stand beside the elevators of the seventh floor.

"But, Colonel," I protested, "I have drawn the members of the Atomic Commission, quite a confidential project. I was allowed to move freely about their offices in the Empire State Building."

"I am sorry," he said. "I can only advise you to come every other Thursday when we have our meetings, and try to get a glance at our delegates in front of the building or in the entrance lobby."

THE POLITBURO MEETS ALTERNATE THURSDAYS, TOO

I recalled that the Politburo, probably the second most secret Committee in the world, also meets every other Thursday. I did not mention this thought to Colonel Chang.

I next learned that the Military Staff Committee had submitted a report to the Security Council on April 30, 1947, and that the Council had subsequently published it. Having plenty of time till next Thursday, I set off with eager heart to the United Nations Documents Center to procure a copy.

"Sorry," said the clerk. "It's top secret."

"But the Council published it."

"Sorry, with us it's classified top secret."

"Then where can I get a copy?"

"Ask Commander de Laborde of the French Navy."

Commander de Laborde had just replaced Colonel Chang as Secretary of the Committee. He was polite, and firm.

"The report is top secret. I cannot give it to you."

"But the Council published it. Also it is to be published in the *Yearbook of the United Nations*."*

"I shall put your request on the agenda of the next Conference of Secretaries."

He did. The Conference ruled that the report was top secret, and could not be handed out.

On the proper subsequent Thursday, armed with a pad and an adequate number of pencils, I arrived at the Manhattan Building. Again, I got no further than the front lobby where I informed the young man at the desk that it was my intention to camp there and watch the *Aufmarsch*.

"I have to inform Colonel Daniels," he said.

Colonel Daniels is the United States Public Relations Officer. He came down in person. I told him all about Miss Langston, Colonel Truman, Colonel Chang and Commander de Laborde.

"Let me check on that," he said.

Shortly afterwards, he came back.

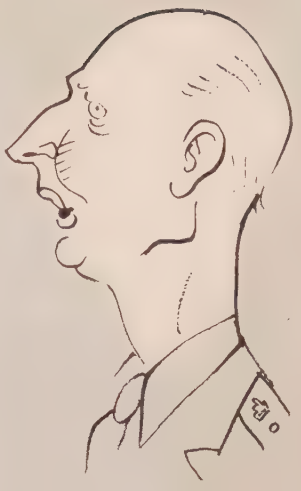
"Yes, everything is correct," he said. "But you cannot go further than the lobby.

"Tell me, Colonel," I asked, "what is the secret that a Russian General tells to an American General, or an American General to a Russian General, both in the presence of Chinese, French, and British Generals, that a caricaturist is not supposed to know?"

"I will give you a chair," said the Colonel.

He did more. He delegated one of his a.d.c.'s to point out to me the in-

* Mr. Kelen's tense was wrong. A UNITED NATIONS publication, it has been available in bookstores at $10 a copy since November, 1947. Ed.



Rear Admiral W. R. Slater, UK

Brig. Gen. P. Fay, France

Lt. Gen. M. B. Ridgway, US

Military Staff Committee *continued*

Lt. Gen. Alexander Vasiley, USSR

Gen. Ho Ying-Chin, China

Vice Admiral V. L. Bogdenko, USSR

coming delegates. He himself came down to the lobby several times from his office to inquire after my health. But he did not allow me to pass beyond the lobby.

The delegates, Russians, Americans, Chinese, British, and French, arrived by the carload in tight ranks, and in separate cars. To my surprise, they were in uniform. In the Henry Hudson Hotel, they held their meetings in civilian clothes. This circumstance had led Lieutenant-General Vasiliev to remark, "So far this is the only achievement of disarmament plans."

The Chinese uniforms were the most elegant; the Russians least. Their collars were much too low, epaulets much too obtrusive, and visors not sufficiently broad for the size of their caps. The Americans looked as if they had stepped out of *Esquire*, while the new French working uniforms were informal, abandoning the stiffness of St. Cyr. The British were exceedingly British.

To the malicious eye of a caricaturist, Vice-Ad. V. L. Bogdenko (exhibit 9) looks like a seaman, second class, and Lt. Gen. A. Ph. Vasiliev looks like a very general. He has a fine Slavic face, and is well-liked by his fellow members, being the only one of the Russians they call by a pet name, "Phil." In World War II he was Chief of Staff of the Stalingrad Army, and is recognized by his colleagues as a military genius.

Gen. Sir Edwin L. Morris, G.B.E., K.C.B., M.C., D.C.F. (exhibit 1) of the British Army is the prototype of the British colonial officer, tall, bony, with a stiff-legged walk. During the recent war he was Chief of the General Staff in India. Rear-Ad. W. R. Slayter of the Royal Navy (exhibit 4) looks like a drenched seagull. He peeked over my shoulder as I sketched him and said, "They've got a better one of me in the Rogue's Gallery of Scotland Yard." He is a newcomer, having joined the Committee this year, sent especially because he is on good terms with the Russians. He was Admiralty representative in the Black Sea during World War II, and speaks Russian perfectly.

Lt. Gen. M. B. Ridgeway of the United States Army (exhibit 6) looks like an American Bald Eagle, an Admiral Hewitt does not look in th least like an Admiral, but like jovial banker.

Lt. Gen. P. Billotte (exhibit 3 of the French delegation is a bon vivant with a malicious smile, an Brig. Gen. P. Fay of the French Ai Force gives the impression of a parish priest whose idea of Heaven, like tha of the Reverend Sydney Smith, i eating *paté de foie gras* to the soun of trumpets.

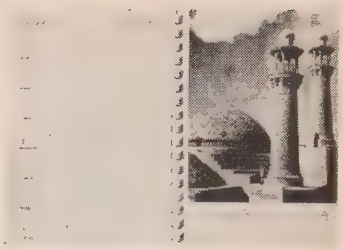
IT'S A SECRET EVEN FROM THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Although the Military Staff Com mittee is an organ of the Securit Council, only the Big Five know what is going on in it. The six othe members are kept in the dark. Thi state of affairs, while perfectly satis factory to the Big Five, cause malaise among the other member who, especially Argentina, would b eager to know what gives on the sev enth floor of the Manhattan Building This malaise made itself felt whe the Military Staff Committee aske the permission of the Council to g to Paris during the next session o the General Assembly. When a vot was taken, the request got only fiv votes in favor, those of the five grea powers. The rest voted against it There will be no sight-seeing for th Military Staff Committee in Paris thi year.

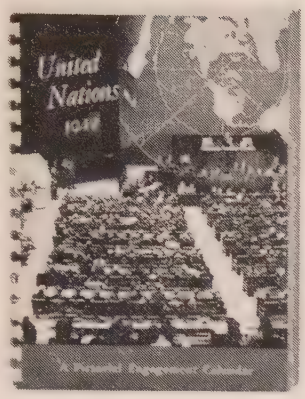
Since its foundation the member of the Committee have been subjec to constant change. The men I drev a month ago may not be there today This seems strange in a Committe engaged in solving gigantic prob lems. Yet it is so.

I remember what an Italian office said to me at the Geneva Disarma ment Conference: "Have you notice that our delegation is changing wee by week. This is because we want a many officers as possible to come her and learn what Russian General think about midget tanks, British Ad mirals about 18″ guns, and Frenc Generals about aerial warfare."

Can it be that the United Nation Military Staff Committee is an acad emy of high military science?



A GIFT



with a message of world good will

A HANDSOME UNITED NATIONS ENGAGEMENT CALENDAR

PERFECT CHRISTMAS REMINDER

FOR A DOZEN NAMES ON YOUR LIST

each only $1.25

Here's an unusual, useful gift that carries a special message of Christmas good will. For each week of the year, it has a complete page to note down engagements, day by day. From all the different nations of the United Nations it has 60 beautiful photographs—full page size—reflecting the great sights you'd see in a trip to the wonderful places of the world.

The extremely interesting text by Kurt Singer, covering all the major events of the UN, and an introduction by Clark Eichelberger, Director of the American Association for the United Nations make this a book of educational value—and a document of history in the making, worthwhile keeping.

In all, the United Nations Engagement Calendar is a 6½ by 9 inch gift book of 114 pages, smartly bound in plastic. A worthwhile gift—much more important than any Christmas card could ever be—but little more than a fine card in cost!

Give the United Nations Engagement Calendar to at least a dozen people on your gift list. To busy business men . . . to women active in social and club life. They'll have important use for it. Give it to every friend, here or overseas, who'll appreciate the sentiment of worldwide good will that speaks sincerely in your thoughtful gift.

SEND YOUR ORDER TODAY

Fill in the coupon, send it promptly with check or money order, and we'll ship the United Nations Gift Calendars to you—each separately boxed—in time for your Christmas mailing.

SPECIAL QUANTITY DISCOUNT

for business heads and club officials ordering gifts for customers, employees, members. Write at once for information.

R. J. BIRNBACK Associates
37 West 43rd Street. New York 18. N. Y.

Please send me _____ copies of United Nations Engagement Calendar at $1.25 each.

I enclose $_____ in ☐ check ☐ money order.

Name_____

Street_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____ Country_____

IT IS A LIBERATED COUNTRY RULED LIKE A CONQUERED ENEMY

ITS WORKERS ARE 'REDS' UNDERPAID AND POORLY FED
BUT THEY HAVEN'T GONE COMMUNIST

IT IS SPLIT INTO FOUR OCCUPATION MILITARY ZONES
BUT ECA TREATS IT AS IF IT WERE A UNIT

ITS FOUR FRIENDLY GOVERNORS WEAR THE SAME UNIFORMS
AS THOSE WHO BICKER SO BITTERLY IN BERLIN

Paradox of Austria

By LEO LANIA
UNW's Eastern European Editor

AUSTRIA'S recovery is one of the major miracles of the troubled, frustrated and split Europe of today.

Not quite two years ago—in the dreadful winter of 1946-47—Vienna was without doubt one of the most miserable cities on the continent. Though less devastated, it suffered more than Warsaw from hunger and cold; its hopelessness was greater than Berlin's. In Germany the four power rule had created new exasperating problems daily; in Austria the division itself was the problem. A four-power occupation and administration of a country its size was simply grotesque. The irony of it all was that Austria was called a liberated country!

Today an Austrian peace treaty seems farther off than at any time since the end of the war; and there is nothing Austria can do about it. In fact, since the Big Powers declared that Austria was not an enemy country and had not waged war against the Allies of its own volition, there is no peace treaty to be signed, but a "treaty between the states"—*staatsvertrag*.

For more than two years the Allies have haggled over the terms of this treaty—meanwhile dealing with Austria as if she were, in fact, a conquered enemy. In Vienna the MP

ALL IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT. This four-man police jeep is the symbol of four-pow control of Austria. Car and radio are American, as is the driver. Beside him sits French MP. A Russian and a Briton (without battle helmet) share the rear se

reigns. The city's symbol is the Kommandatura jeep speeding over the Ring, each one bearing an American, a British, a French and a Russian military policeman.

Yet, while the Austrian government lacks authority to pass certain laws without the consent of the occupying powers and while the Vienna police lack authority to arrest any criminal if he wears a foreign uniform, Vienna lives again.

It is a changed life, somber. Th gaiety, the lightheartedness are gon People start the day very early ar sleep by night. After 10 p.m. the ci is dark except for a few bars ar nightclubs patronized mostly by tou ists and foreign soldiers. A Vienne café is merely a place to get a cup coffee—or what is served under th name—and not the social club whe one kept informed about the mo vital problem of old Vienna: wh

was having an affair with whom.

Austria works and builds. The reconstruction is not so spectacular as in Warsaw (see UNW, October, 1948). The Innere Stadt, the center of the city, still shows ugly scars. Work has been mostly limited to clearing away rubble and repairing damaged buildings. The Opera and the Burgtheater remain in ruins, the Cathedral of St. Stephan is still without a roof.

Yet, in spite of burned out buildings the Kaertnerstrasse, Vienna's Fifth Avenue, has an air of luxury. Shop windows, empty two years ago, are full of exquisite leather goods, silk and silverware, beautiful ties, pullover sweaters, ceramics and china with the genuine stamp of Viennese tradition and taste. The foreigner who has dollars or Swiss francs to spend can buy here lovely "souvenirs" far cheaper than in any other European city. Shoes and clothing are still scarce and rationed; on the free market these articles are far too expensive for the native.

The discrepancy between incomes and prices is Austria's most pressing economic problem. A year ago, with nothing to buy and with the black market in full bloom, the Viennese was an assiduous theater goer and book reader. Today theater, movies and bookstores are the victims of partial economic recovery. Given the choice between a pound of sugar or a theater ticket, people choose the sugar—or butter or eggs or a pair of stockings.

More and more voices advocate the abandonment of price regulations and rations, with the Volkspartei (Catholic People's Party) leading the fight for the return to a free economy and the trade unions and the Socialists defending enforced austerity.

The Socialists point out that Austria's foreign trade has still a yearly deficit of 3 billion schillings. This deficit is being made up now by American gifts and loans. Austria must balance its economy during the next four years or find herself in a dangerous predicament when Marshall Plan aid ends.

Rationing is, of course, not popular and the Viennese especially grumble over the fact that peacetime meals with butter and luscious pastry are served in Salzburg and the resorts of Carynthia while the city housewife has to stand in line for her meager rations. On the other hand the vast majority of the Austrian people admit that, if all regulations were abandoned, the wage earner could not afford to buy even the food he gets now; they accept sacrifices and frozen salaries to avert the disasters of inflation.

A real solution of the economic troubles is obviously not possible so long as the country is split into Russian and Western Occupation Zones. Trade between Austria and the Eastern European countries is another basic condition of the country's recovery. These two conditions have, however, been met in part. First, relations between the Soviet and Western military in Vienna have been actually friendly in the main—so different from the situation in Berlin. Second, the ECA is determined to treat the country as a unit and to disregard in the economic sphere as far as possible the borders of the four zones.

The success or failure of the ECA's constructive approach—dealing as it does only with the central government—will depend, finally, on the attitude of the Russians. It is certain that the Russians could prevent enterprises in their zone receiving ECA aid; and it would be equally possible for the Austrian government to withhold aid to the Soviet-controlled zone. But neither set of authorities has taken an extreme step. While the outcome of the Danubian Conference in Belgrade is not a good omen, there is still hope for effective continuing East-West co-operation in Austria itself.

Already most of the destroyed bridges over the Danube have been repaired, the roads through the country have been put into good shape, industrial production is rising. In the last year production in the metallurgical industry has risen about 52 per cent, in the chemical industry 58 percent, in the manufacturing of machinery and electrical equipment 57 per cent; production of consumer goods has risen to 66 per cent of its 1937 mark since July, 1947. The national income has increased approximately 25 per cent during the last year.

Westmore Willcox, American head of the special ECA mission to Austria, cites these figures as proof of the effectiveness of the American aid "since it really got started in July, 1947." At the same time he gives credit for Austria's recovery to "the splendid self-discipline of the Austrian people and the two parties in Austria's coalition government—the Catholic Peoples' Party and the Socialists."

Until a year ago the Communists had one seat in Austria's government, but since then their influence has diminished steadily; every election in the trade unions and for the factory councils has accentuated this trend. Close observers estimate that today the Communists do not command more than 5 to 7 per cent of the vote.

For the people of Austria are violently anti-Russian. Nowhere in Europe have the Soviets antagonized the masses as here. The Viennese workers, the only ones except those of Spain who dared to fight Fascism in open rebellion, had been praised by Moscow as "an advance guard of the social revolution." They expected therefore to be treated by the Red armies like comrades and greeted the Russian soldiers as such. They were quickly disillusioned.

The liberation of Vienna turned into one of the ugliest orgies of rape and looting. It was not the ladies of the bourgeoise who were raped—they had escaped to their estates and villas in the Salzkammergut and Tyrol—but the wives and daughters of the Socialist workers who had remained to battle the retreating Nazis. It was not the mansions and palaces of the nobility in the city that were ransacked but the workers' settlements on the outskirts.

These events, which converted the sympathy and admiration of the Viennese for the Soviet regime into contempt, disgust and hatred, were the result of one of the confusions of war. The Red Army troops that had been politically trained for the liberation of Austria had to be thrown into the battle for Budapest, and soldiers from Asia spearheaded the attack on Vienna. They simply ran wild. It is probably true that, seeing bathtubs and radios in the workers apartments, they mistook them for residences of the hated capitalist class.

The misbehavior of the barbaric *soldatestka* alone does not explain Communist weakness in Austria. Of far greater importance is the nature of the Austrian Socialist Party. This rare political organism is the only Socialist Party on the Continent which has never split into leftist and rightist factions.

On the surface, Austria appears to

Paradox of Austria *continued*

be fertile ground for Communist propaganda. The war left it impoverished, desolate, cut off from the West, half surrounded by Communist States. If it is true that misery and hopelessness are the forerunners of Communism, Austrians should have embraced it more quickly and easily than any other people in Europe.

It is apparent that the Communists hoped, and expected, to win the Austrian Socialists. What they did not see or didn't want to understand —was the influence of the tremendously effective reform program the Austrian Socialists had initiated between the wars: the workers settlements, the People's Universities, the hospitals and maternity wards—all the social security and cultural education programs which were not vague promises but realities. Vienna in the 20's was a mecca for social reformers from all over the world.

The Austrian Socialists had made themselves strong too in the political field. In contrast to their comrades in Germany and France, they never compromised their basic principles of democracy, pacificism and true internationalism. Their very existence has always been dependent on the adherence to a cosmopolitan, an international, world outlook.

When after the First World War, "collaboration with the bourgeois class" became imperative—the Socialists, representing the workers and the liberal intelligentsia, combined to form a government with the Christian Socialists, representing the farmers and the conservative middle class of Vienna.

When Dolfuss and his fascist friends tried to copy the example of Mussolini and declared war on the workers and their party, the Socialists by their courageous resistance, won their right to a comeback. Their power today in a new coalition with the Christian Socialists is stronger than ever.

Today the spokesmen and representatives of the peasants guide the latter party—and not smart lawyers without scruples but with high connections in Catholic circles. The peasant leaders are, of course, conservative, but the days of clerical fascism are over. Probably the next elections will give the Socialists a narrow majority but even then they will have to reckon with the power of the Catholics and adapt their policy accordingly.

This truce of the two political forces has spared Austria strikes, social unrest and class warfare, and given it a government which is one of the most stable on the continent.

Yet one shouldn't overlook some danger spots: Denazification in Austria is much the same sad story it is in Germany. The amnesty granted to small-fry Nazis was probably unavoidable, but the fact that many big men like Emil Jannings, hero of one of the most vicious Nazi films, could have been cleared and even granted Austrian citizenship is an outright scandal. Moral callousness and cynicism flourish in such an atmosphere. Unfortunately, the universities are strongholds of these sentiments.

In the provinces, former Nazi industrialists and bankers have gained the staunch support of influential men in the military government. Dozens of such cases are known all over the country. They do not help to strengthen trust in Western leadership or faith in the political wisdom of the Austrian government.

Another dark spot in the general bright picture of new Austria is the growth of a narrow provincialism.

Many years ago, a witty songwriter wrote a little poem with the refrain:

"All our trouble started with the native costumes"
("Mit den trachten hat's angefangen")

The people of Vienna will have to make up their mind: shall Vienna become once more a metropolitan city, a center of European culture or revert to the status of an oversized picturesque village. Patriotic feelings and love for tradition and folklore are fine but you don't prove anything by wearing a little green hat and short leather pants—at least not in the city where one doesn't need to climb a mountain to get to his office desk.

The Jews who played an enormously important part in the cultural, spiritual and artistic life of Vienna and who had developed that cosmopolitan humanistic culture which the world used to call "genuine Austrian" are gone, most of them dead. The new intelligentsia makes a rather poor showing. Theater and opera live only off their past. The postwar films are rather primitive and mediocre with the sole exception of G. W. Pabst's "Trial."

The Socialists recognize the danger of this spiritual vacuum. They try hard to fill it. Julius Deutsch, in charge of all publications and the publishing ventures of the party, has built an organization coordinating the output of half a dozen publishing houses. Starting from scratch, he's reprinting world classics and the most important books published abroad during the Nazi regime.

Literary magazines, social and political monthlies, like *Die Zeit* try to stimulate interest in intellectual problems, but the lack of capable journalists and writers is a heavy handicap. So is the shortage of newsprint and paper.

The *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the official

UNROOFED

ST. STEPHAN'S spire, pointing upward for 800 years, survived the bombings. Its roof did not, and is still unrepaired.

organ of the Socialist Party, can do little more than provide its readers with a very scant summary of political news. Its editor, Oscar Pollack, has earned the special hatred of the Russians for his uncompromising attitude and his bitter denunciations of Soviet rule.

THE DARKER SIDE OF THE SHIELD

In strong contrast to Berlin the four-power rule in Vienna has never been broken up, though there are, of course, disagreements at each session of the Allied Council.

The greatest difficulties arise from Russian insistence on classifying Austrian resources and industrial plants as "German assets," even if those properties were originally owned by Jewish Austrians and had been taken over by the Germans under duress or simply stolen. Among these assets the most important ones are the oil wells of Zistersdorf and the Danubian Steamship Line.

In Vienna itself most of the trouble stems from actions of the Russian military. Arrests and kidnapping by "men in uniform speaking a foreign language" (the only formula the Viennese newspapers are allowed to use in describing such incidents) are frequent. Russian control of all roads leading into Vienna creates many difficulties. Military bureaucracy flourishes. Austria is bound up in a strait jacket of foreign red tape.

On the other hand, work and life in the Russian zone goes on without much interference from the military. And even more important, the relationship between the western military commanders and the Soviet marshal has been courteous, even friendly.

This circumstance supports the argument that the Soviets are not willing to interfere openly in the political life of a country where they cannot count upon the active co-operation of a strong Communist Party. Had the Communists been able to gain a strong position in Austrian politics, many Viennese are certain their city would have experienced Berlin's fate.

Western military officials in Vienna are learning by experience that Socialists are strong allies in the "cold war." Some Americans in the Military Government are still hesitant to appear "too friendly with the Reds" [meaning Socialists], but even they can see that there is no future in an alliance with the reactionary spokesmen of the past—the Nazis and clerical fascists.

In time, as Washington learns the lesson of Vienna, and instructs Military Government officers to apply it elsewhere, one may expect to see develop less explosive East-West relations at the friction points of occupation.

VIENNA'S DESTROYED CULTURAL CENTER

WHERE EAST AND WEST MET. Austria, though officially held to be a non-enemy country, was nonetheless furiously fought over. This photo shows what is left of its capital's famous opera house (center). Too poor to buy autos Viennese get about afoot like the man with briefcase at right or on bicycles as at left. Trucking is largely done with horses, center.

TOO MANY MOUTHS. This Indian family has already been reduced by the loss of perhaps four children—those born between the eldest girl of 12 and the boy of 7 whose thin wrist sports a treasured bangle, and between him and the infant.

Proteins

NOT TOO MANY. These South Dakota parents produced six children in 10 years. All are plump, illustrating that "too many children" is a relative term which depends on standards of living. Behind each smile are acres of rich black topsoil.

FROM INDIA TO THE AMAZON

REPRODUCTION IS

OUTRUNNING PRODUCTION—

MORE MOUTHS TO FEED

LESS FOOD TO SHARE—

WHY CONTRACEPTION AND

ABORTION HAVE BECOME

SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE UN

Americans have for so long lived so well that they expect to continue to do so indefinitely. In recent months, however, many of them have been shocked out of this fat-of-the-land complacency by several books (reviewed in past issues of UNW), the common thesis of which is that man has so wastefully exploited natural resources as to endanger his survival. The threat of a hungry world has been realized for many years by two schools of thought, one of which has emphasized more proteins, the other less procreation as the answer.

The first, so-called conservationists, have been hard at work proselyting, inside and outside governments, for half a century. Since the 30's, a non-governmental organization—Friends of the Land—has been popularizing contour plowing, manuring, water storage, and stopping runoff, grass and timber cropping to maintain man's sole source of food, the top soil.

The other organization, also nongovernmental and no less ardent, also having its formal origin in the 30's but growing out of a movement begun nearly four decades ago by Margaret Sanger, is the Planned Parenthood Federation. Its concern is not production but population. Mr. Loth is a spokesman for this group—which would limit mouths to the food available. In a forthcoming issue, UNW will present the case of a spokesman for those who still hope to raise sufficient food for all the mouths.

BY DAVID LOTH
Author of "Woodrow Wilson, the 15th Point"

and Procreation

WHEN is a famine a failure? Not long ago a businessman in India was quoted as saying: "Our last famine was a failure. It killed only three or four million people, which means that it still lagged behind the birth rate. And that means a few handfuls less of rice for everybody next year."

The speaker is not an especially callous man; he simply is worried and bewildered. He is stating a thesis as old as Malthus — that, in an economy of scarcity, overpopulation means lowered living standards.

The West has tried to meet this dilemma by increasing production faster than population (and by easing the pressure with an occasional war). The East has combined war with infanticide, a high death rate and, in large areas, chronic famine. But today both "solutions" are coming in for critical, even anxious re-examination, and an urgent fact emerges: Neither is the right answer.

Human food and human fertility pose up a world problem, one of vital, growing concern to national governments and the UN. The peoples of the earth are insisting that their standards of living be brought up to and maintained at a level which befits human dignity. This brings their leaders face to face with the population problem. People are multiplying faster than ever before. And the increase is most marked in just those areas where food is shortest.

Hence a tragic paradox: Every move to raise living standards is defeated by its own success. For one of the rising standards is a lower death rate, and the resulting population increase wipes out the benefits by reducing the food per person. Again, as living standards raise the level of education, people begin to adopt means of controlling their own fertility. But this step never will be taken if uncontrolled reproduction inhibits education in the first place.

In this story of mankind's fight for a better life, industrialization plays both the good and the bad fairy. It has been a boon to the West, a doubtful blessing to the East.

Throughout history, the world's population grew almost imperceptibly — up to the Industrial Revolution. Then, starting about 1800, new developments on many fronts began to reduce the death rate. In two generations the number of people on earth jumped more than a third, from 800,000,000 to 1,100,000,000. But that was only a start. In the 90 years between 1850 and 1940, the world's population *doubled* — and the rate of increase still is rising.

Or look at it this way: in less than 150 years Europe exported the millions who provided most of the inhabitants of America, Australia and other regions — at the same time as its home population was growing to five times the 1800 figure.

Some decades after the West's death rate began to fall, however, the birth rate also started to decline. Seemingly Europe and America were heading toward a balanced population. Scientists forecast the day, somewhere around 1980, when the U. S., for example, would not be reproducing it-

self. Nationalists viewed such prophecies with alarm; numbers, they cried, were a country's strength, and many governments began offering bonuses for babies on the theory that more births would be the answer.

No theory could be more mistaken. Europe is crowded to suffocation. No longer can it export its surplus to undeveloped areas; there are no undeveloped areas worth mentioning. Even war has lost its power to limit population growth: between 1939 and 1947, during the most destructive conflict of history, Europe outside of Russia gained 22 *million* people. Today, even food production at prewar levels could not restore Europe's inadequate prewar standard of living. Today — even in the western world — the good fairy of industrialization begins to assume malnutrition's haggard form.

In the East malnutrition has been endemic for centuries. Nor has the East even the temporary outlet the West has enjoyed. The East could not, and cannot, industrialize at the same time its excess people were moved overseas. Yet India, China, Japan, the East Indies already contain millions more than they can feed.

To see the disastrous result of industrialization on an Eastern land, consider India. Originally, introduction of steel mills, oil refineries and the like was hailed as an answer to the country's age-old poverty and misery. But no one thought about India's birth rate. Between 1911 and 1921 — the decade before industrialization — the population rose 2,600,000 or less than 1 per cent. In the next decade, by contrast, the increase was 32,000,000 — 10 per cent. And in 1931-41, as the process accelerated, the population rose 50,000,000 — 15 per cent.

In the face of these figures, the increase in India's industrial output simply proved inadequate. The average worker got higher wages — but less food. Classic economic theory says that industrialization raises living standards by providing products which can be exchanged for food. The theory did not work for the Indian.

In preindustrial days the Indian's wife bore, say, 10 children; three or four reached maturity. With improved health facilities she still would bear 10 children — but now six or seven would live to adulthood. All would be as undernourished as wage would not have risen enough to support the extra mouths. Because that wage is spread so thin, the Indian worker is an insignificant market for the rest of the world.

Even if he were able to buy food from other countries, it might not be available. Today many experts are pessimistic about substantial increases in crops. A UN report says that from 1939 to 1947, while the world's population rose 10 per cent, the world's food production *declined* 7 per cent. The decline would have been greater except for a series of bumper crops in the U. S. and the cultivation of considerable American land that should not have been plowed at all.

H. H. Bennett, chief of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service, points out that it takes 2½ acres to give one person a minimum diet. Today, he says, the world's four billion arable acres are half a billion short of supplying a minimum of 1,800,000,000 people — 400,000,000 fewer than the existing population. Even if the Congo and Amazon basins were brought under cultivation, they woud not make up the shortage.

THE BASIC PROBLEM IS TO KNOW THE PROBLEM

Since industrialization merely seems to increase the number of people without giving those people enough to live on, what is the way out? Population experts give an answer which depends for fulfillment on the joint application of intelligence, broad humanity and modern science.

The first step is to gather many more facts. The UN Population Commission has begun by calling for individual nations to make studies on the interplay of economic, social and population factors on living standards. Member nations of the Commission are: for two years, China, Britain, the US, the USSR; for three years, Australia, Canada, France, the Ukraine; for four years, the Netherlands, Peru, Yugoslavia.

The American member is Philip M. Hauser, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago. "Problems both of quantity and quality of people everywhere," he says, can be solved "through a eugenics program and through improving the relationship between the birth rate and social, educational and economic opportunities." This means an educational campaign not only through the UN but through every avenue of communication.

There is abundant evidence that the world's women lack the knowledge rather than the desire to limit the size of their families. The first known contraceptive is described on an Egyptian papyrus of 1800 B. C. But techniques are still primitive. Foster Hailey, writing in the New York *Times*, notes that Chinese women still attempt a kind of birth control by eating ground glass to induce abortion.

"Much food and much effort and strength of Chinese womanhood are spent in rearing children who do not survive to maturity . . . Nations which have attained higher than average standards of living have fairly stable populations and relatively small families . . . The population question, therefore, is one to which China may well give serious attention. . . ."

Clearly, the second big step needed is education. Teaching the techniques of birth control is essential if the crowded countries, particularly in Asia, are to control their population. Equally essential to all countries is research and education in the techniques of food production. In both fields science plays a big part in the improvement of living standards.

Research in food problems already is highly developed. The US alone spends about $30,000,000 a year on studies designed to improve plant and animal strains. Up to now, however, the amount spent on the scientific aspects of the population problem has been negligible.

A start toward basic investigation in this field now has been made. The auspices are imposing. The National Research Council has formed a Committee on Human Reproduction which is made up of 14 eminent authorities — biologists, physicians representing various branches of medicine, a psychologist, experts in population and public health. Collaborating in the program are the National Committee on Maternal Health (whose chairman is Dr. Haven Emerson, former New York City Health Commissioner) and the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

One of the primary objects of the Committee's research is to shed light on the whole question of the physiology of conception — and its control. Light is needed from the biological as well as the psychological and social points of view. Professor Hauser has called this research "a matter of world-wide urgency."

A QUICK ANSWER, IN TEXT AND MAPS,
TO THE CONSTANT QUESTION:
"AFTER ALL, WHAT
HAS THE UNITED NATIONS REALLY ACCOMPLISHED?"

The UN Record

BY THE EDITORS

IT IS TRUE that unresolved issues of World War II are still being squabbled over at the Third General Assembly meeting in Paris. But what has been overlooked by a world greatly dismayed by disputes and debates, doubts and difficulties is that these are largely questions that were, presumably, to have been settled befor the UN was to begin functioning.

A primary premise behind the founding of the UN was that it would be based upon unanimity among the Big Powers. In the minds of those who framed the UN Charter was the underlying assumption that it would take up after peace treaties with Germany and Japan, and the delineation of power relationships, had cleared the way. In short, the UN was originally designed as an agency to *maintain* the peace, and stabilize it, and perpetuate it, rather than an agency that would itself be compelled to try to *establish* the conditions necessary to its existence.

Nonetheless, despite its handicaps, and without fanfare, the UN and its 14 specialized agencies are building new habit patterns of international comity and co-operation.

The strength of the UN derives from the identity of aspirations actuating mankind, the human hopes which cannot be realized without peace now and a secure future.

When the International Children's Emergency Fund helped save 5 million children in Europe and Asia from starvation, it reflected the primordial instinct of all parents everywhere to protect children and thus to insure the survival of the race. But there are still 230 million badly undernourished children in the world.

For them, to date, the ICEF:

■ Has supplied more than 100 million pounds of powdered milk, and substantial quantities of meat, fish, fats and cod liver oil, along with raw cotton, leather and wool.

■ Opened the first international campaign against tuberculosis.

■ Established an anti-syphilis program in Poland.

■ Set up a program to provide $3 million in medical aid throughout Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

Allied with the urge to sustain the race is the need of men for homes and a homeland, a longing that the International Refugee Organization, in its first year of existence, fulfilled for 256,000 persons who were returned to their country of origin or resettled in countries of adoption. Some 700,000 refugees and displaced persons are still receiving IRO aid.

The fledgling World Health Organization, in the fall of 1947, arrested a major cholera epidemic in Egypt. In this WHO was assisted by the ICAO which synchronized the flying in of critically needed medical personnel together with vaccines, serums, disinfectants and other supplies. WHO also:

■ Took steps to prevent the outbreak of epidemic among an estimated 323,000 Arab and some 7,000 Jewish refugees in Israel, Lebanon, Syria and Transjordan.

■ Sprayed swampy areas of Italy, China, Greece and Ethiopia with DDT against malaria.

■ Established at various universities more than 300 advance training fellowships in public health and sanitary engineering.

■ Started a BCG vaccination program for India's tubercular millions.

■ Wages still other campaigns to improve maternity care, stamp out venereal disease, establish new disciplines for nutrition and hygiene.

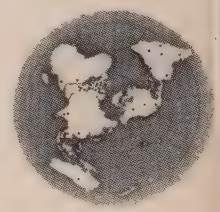
On the social front, the Economic and Social Council has improved international control of narcotics, and is conducting little publicized but essential population studies which form the basis not only for broad health and economic policy but also for sound immigration planning.

In the economic sphere, the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development has already lent $513,000,000 to spark world recovery. Its loans range from massive credits granted to governments (France, Denmark, Chile, etc.) to the $12,000,000 encouragement lent to a private Dutch shipping firm. Dotted on the map on this page, and specified on larger-scale maps on the next two pages, are suggestions of the manifold activities by which the United Nations idea is taking root and expanding around the world.

(Text continued on page 34)

IN DENSELY POPULATED ASIA, UN WORKS ARE DIRECTED TOWARD RAISING STANDARDS OF LIVING AND HEALTH

Progress Report on the UN



THE RICH STATES and the sparsely populated ones of the Americas have seen IRO's resettlement program in action.

FOR THREE YEARS headlines have emphasized the failures and frustrations of the United Nations. To put the record straight, the Editors of UNITED NATIONS WORLD here portray in map form the major achievements of the UN in fields which are fundamental to the maintenance of world peace. Faint-hearted supporters will be pleasantly surprised, and the cynical nonplused, by this report. For the UN has achieved a record of no less than 102 positive achievements—those recorded here—plus other unrecorded accomplishments. To this one must add the establishment of 12 UN Information Centers—in Copenhagen, Geneva, London, Mexico City, Moscow, New Delhi, Paris, Prague, Rio de Janeiro, Shanghai, Warsaw and Washington—all now working for world co-operation. And so it goes, through all the manifestations of the United Nations. Certainly, for its intangible as well as tangible effects on peace, the world is far better off today by reason of the existence of UN.

THE SYMBOLS OF UN ACCOMPLISHMENTS

ECOSOC (Economic & Social Council)

IRO (International Refugee Organization)

ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization)

SECURITY COUNCIL

FAO (Food & Agricultural Organization)

ICEF (International Children's Emergency Fund)

UNESCO (Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization)

WHO (World Health Organization)

B & F (World Bank & Monetary Fund)

N WESTERN EUROPE, THE UN HAS EMPHASIZED HEALTH AND INDUSTRY; IN THE MIDDLE EAST, PEACE

UN Record *continued*

THE UN Economic and Social Council, through projects carried out by the UN Secretariat, and through its synthesis and supervision of the work done by the UN's specialized agencies, must be credited with the lion's share of UN achievements to date.

It has set up Economic Commissions for Europe, for Asia and the Far East, and for Latin America. The first, the famous ECE, with its headquarters in Geneva, has immeasurably quickened the pace of orderly European recovery through surveys and integration of data on Europe's production, trade, transport and agricultural needs—for East and West.

The Asian Commission is proceeding with basic surveys of the economic needs of the turbulent area under its jurisdiction.

The Latin American Commission has only begun to function; one for the Middle East is yet to be formed.

To overcome the hindrances to world trade embodied in high tariff walls, dumping, quotas, exchange restrictions, and blocked currencies, the Economic and Social Council strenuously advocated establishment of the International Trade Organization (ITO). Last spring in Havana delegates from 54 nations signed the draft charter, committing their governments to a policy of gradually abandoning restrictions on international trade.

Thanks to the activities of the Economic and Social Council, hundreds of millions of people throughout the world are becoming increasingly aware that they have basic human rights which heretofore had been enjoyed only in advanced democracies.

The Atlantic Charter, the preamble of the UN Charter, the cumulative patrimony of basic declarations of human rights throughout history, constitute the foundation upon which the UN Commission on Human Rights has based its draft convention. Although this document is still far from having legal force in member states of the UN, the very fact that it has been discussed has increased active interest in the convention and in fulfillment of its promise.

Similarly, discussion of the conventions drafted by the Conference on Freedom of Information wakened concern in problems of free collection and transmission of news and freedom of the press. Steps have been taken toward granting women rights equal to those enjoyed by men. A draft convention outlawing genocide is now before the General Assembly for acceptance.

The vast potentialities in the field of international cultural co-operation are made evident by the numerous and varied accomplishments of UNESCO in the brief period of its existence. Among its activities:

- International Teachers' Seminars at Ashridge College, U.K., at Adelphi College, U.S., and Podebradi, Czechoslovakia. A Seminar in Caracas on Latin American education problems.
- Founding of an International Theater Institute in Prague.
- International Conference on Public Education in Geneva.
- Meeting of University leaders in Utrecht which laid plans for establishment of International Association of Universities.
- Conference on High Altitude Research at Interlaken.
- Summer School for Librarians in Manchester and London.
- Latin American Conference on Development of Science in Montevideo.
- Authors, Publishers, Editors meeting in Paris to plan worldwide translations of great books.
- International Federation of Children's Communities in Switzerland.
- Founding of the International Institute of Hylean Amazon to promote scientific studies in this region.
- Pilot projects to test techniques and methods in the field of fundamental education begun in Marbial Valley, Haiti; Szechwan and Wusih areas in China; Nyasaland, British East Africa, and in Peru.
- Four Field Science Co-operative offices set up at Rio de Janeiro, Cairo, New Dehli and Nanking.

The Security Council has effectively exercised its peace-keeping function on several significant occasions.

- It induced the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Iran.
- It induced France and England to withdraw their troops from Syria and Lebanon.
- Its intervention in the Greek border fighting was instrumental in calizing this strife mainly within confines of Greece itself.
- It stopped the Netherlands-I nesian war.
- It is aiding India and Pakista allay discord over Kashmir.
- It achieved a cease-fire order truce between Jews and Arab Palestine.

The International Civil Avia Organization (ICAO) first came the limelight last fall when on its weather ships, the US Coast G Cutter *Bibb* rescued 69 passenger the *Bermuda Sky Queen* forced d into a rough sea. Less publicized the 8 weather stations (5 more ar be added by June, 1949) whic maintains in the North Atlantic.

The International Labor Organ tion (ILO) in its San Francisco sions last summer approved a vention which will, once ratified member states, guarantee to empl and employee alike the right to f and join organizations of their choosing.

Currently, the ILO is survey conditions of domestic workers of glass and aircraft labor to m sure that the last two are granted protection of national laws.

The purpose of the Food and A cultural Organization (FAO) is help all peoples get enough to It has set up the World Food C cil to assist in the global alloca of surplus food and fertilizer an promote output of agricultural t and machinery. It is now prepa for a 1950 World Census of A culture, and it has also:

- Sponsored international con ences to expand the yield of cer and of wood.
- Assisted Peru, Iran, Czechosl kia and China to set up food ref eration and storage facilities.
- Established field demonstra schools in Europe on the cultiva of hybrid corn, on artificial insem tion of cattle, on advanced veteri techniques.
- Inaugurated extensive program deep-well irrigation and drai projects throughout the Middle E
- Set up a technical training sc for agricultural statisticians in dad, Iraq.
- Sent missions to Greece, Pol Siam and Burma to assist in m ernizing agricultural methods.

TRAVEL

DOLLARS ARE BIGGER, WORK LIGHTER
FOOD IS MORE TASTY AND COLORS BRIGHTER
LIFE IS SLOW, INFORMAL AND COMFORTABLE AS
AN OLD HUARACHE IN THE ANCIENT CITY OF MEXICO

Heaven For Gringos

BY FRANCES WOODROW HADLEY

"WHY is it," I asked my hostess, "so many *gringos* who have lived in Mexico for years want to live here forever?"

I watched her fan the little fire in the basket under the tank to heat water for my bath and added my prayer to those of Mexico City housewives: "O Lord, don't let the water be turned off this afternoon." In Mexico City, water service, like electric power, had a way of breaking off at 4 p.m., not to be resumed until daybreak.

When the fire was blazing my hostess said: "I have four servants. Maria cooks. Teresa washes, Juanita cleans downstairs, Lupe markets—she's the one with the *niños;* they live in the house at the back. . . ."

I tried to imagine life with sturdy and prolific Indian girls, thick black braids down their backs and an enchanting lilt to their voices, always there to scour the tile stairway, to buck the pandemonium of public markets, to make the basic *tortillas,* to perform the manifold household tasks which women the world over would like to avoid.

"But your husband. Doesn't he long for American efficiency?"

INTELLECTUAL ART in Mexico is personified by Diego Rivera, famous muralist, who here works on an indigenous family group, typical of his approach to painting in which he introduces mythology, politics and his own particular ideology.

PEASANT ART. This Mestizo craftsman, seated in the sharp Mexican sunlight applies his brush with three fingers, carrying on the tradition of an ancient art.

EVERYBODY'S ART—the art of living—is exemplified by these children, for the moment solemn, pearls, bracelets, earrings and fragrant with flow

Heaven for Gringos *continued*

No. He had learned how to handle his laborers, just as she had learned to manage the servants. He liked life in Mexico as well as she did. One reason he likes it so well is that he is well paid in American dollars, worth six or seven pesos (Mexican dollars) each. Reports from the home office wail over the climbing cost of living in the United States, over high taxes, military preparations.

Aside from such advantages *Gringos* in Mexico constantly remind one that life in the country of their birth is unpleasantly hurried, confused and frenzied. It lacks the grace and lazy comfort found in life south of the border.

It is extraordinary, in fact, how promptly *norteamericanos* adopt Mexico's slow-paced savoring of life, especially of *comidas* which begin at 2:30 or 3 p.m. This meal may start with a soup packed with sea delicacies, followed by red snapper, *huachinango*, then chicken with rice, *arroz con pollo*. The rhapsody of rice in Mexico is never tiresome for it is beautifully cooked, and well-flavored with tomatoes, *chillis* and spices. There are other provocative dishes to choose from: *enchiladas* filled with chicken or cheese. and covered with perhaps a *mole* made of hot peppers and chocolate, or crisp *tostadas* holding avocado and cold turkey.

There are always piping hot *tortillas* to roll up with piquant sauces. I enjoyed watching them being made more than I did eating them. The women kneel on the dry earth before a pan of water and corn meal which has been ground on a centuries-old *metata* stone. A gob of batter is flattened by palming vigorously from hand to hand, then cooked on an acrid-smelling charcoal brazier.

By the time six courses of the *comida* have been consumed, along with several moon-shaped bottles of Chilean wine, it is nearly 5 p.m.

A newcomer is invariably confused before learning the leisurely ways of Mexico. I missed my first concert because I didn't realize I had been invited to the fashionable 6 o'clock performance. Concerts are given in the Palacio de Bellas Artes in Alameda Park. This white marble edifice is slowly sinking into the soft bog—sea or lake bottom—on which all Mexico City rests. Rests so comfortably that the frequent earthquakes do little damage.

At 9 o'clock, after a concert or movie, one may eat a light *cena*, but heavy drinking or eating at this hour is considered stupid by those who have lived long at 8000 feet.

To people from other countries, the ease of Mexican life is first a welcome change, then a habit, and finally a pleasant slavery. So people who had come for a few months' va tion stay on and on, sometimes their lives in placid acceptance of turn of pleasant days.

The Mexicans, on the other ha do not lull so easily. Their temper like the nature of the land—calm top, but seething beneath the surfa Mexico is in perpetual revolution in a minor key. Mexicans are usua resentful of the *gringos*. Recently th antipathy has flared up with distr of our motives in promoting *aftosa* campaign—the harsh progr to stamp out hoof-and-mouth dise by killing the afflicted cattle.

I well remember the night wh the bus in which I was riding tow Mexico City was abruptly halted i small village. Everyone filed out sloshed through a trough of di fected tanbark which was pla alongside the road while the bus driven through a purifying dip. I lowed the crowd to a dark cor of the plaza. There, projected o wall, an educational film dramati the evils of the *aftosa* while a lo speaker blared the urgency of slau tering the Mexicans' most valua earthly possession. Obsidian e watched gravely, with hostile inco prehension. The attempt to re Mexican peons through modern pr aganda seemed futile.

In Mexico, time is important, most tangible. Historic time c

TEC MEXICO. This is the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan. Five terraces rise he platform summit where a few hundred years ago priests slashed the breasts of ificial victims and, tearing out their bleeding hearts, held them up to the gods.

nds the mind while it entices the rt. The capital, of nearly 3 mil-, which sprawls at the feet of the gant volcanoes, Popocatepetl and accihuatl, was old when Cortés quered it 400 years ago. The sight a huge Quetzalcoatl, or another esome granite god, is a terrifying inder of the natives' Aztec heri-e. A reminder which is only rpened when the mellow colonial rm of old buildings made of *per-tle*, a durable, purplish, volcanic k, gives way occasionally to the dern lines of skyscraper business ldings and large apartment houses. Along the Paseo de la Reforma are ny old palaces with a Parisian air. this melange a New York atmos-ere is added by the Prado Hotel, ngchamps, Ciro's and most night bs. And by Sanborn's, the great re where one can buy "without be-gyped," where the apprehensive y "drink the water and eat even salad," without fear. Sanborn's erior is blue and white tile, a utiful relic of colonial times; but de it is America, hygienic and cient.

Mexico is also the land of wasteful nty. The markets are piled high h unrefrigerated fruit and vege-les: pyramids of golden oranges, y pomegranates, large green ons, papayas, avocados, cheri-yers. The fish markets are coral-and-ice palaces fit for mermaids.

Flower markets lavish color and fragrance in block-long arrangements of wild orchids, gladioli, roses, adorable baskets of pink rose buds, forget-me-nots and baby's breath (sent to new mothers), and aggressively sweet tuberoses and calla lilies. The dead are especially blessed in Mexico for, in addition to being well-provided with food, their grave wreaths are sometimes a seven-foot arch of gardenias.

One cannot live in Mexico without becoming aware of a disquieting element, a raw creative force, which may be as strong a magnet to visitors as the gracious living. This is perhaps a result of all the powerful contradictions making up Mexico's life. I noticed it in Mexican art. Rivera and Orozco show vigor, revolution and originality in their wall coverings, but the muralist, Siqueiros, displays a power which is volcanic. Ferocious Aztec gods, massive monsters with insatiable appetites for torn-out human hearts, breathe through the canvases of this Siqueiros. He may be deplored as an ignorant and egotistical Indian, but not ignored, any more than one can ignore a volcano like Paricutin, which annihilates village after village in its thirsty streams of molten lava. One asks, "What will happen next here?" And yet, there are also the

SPANISH MEXICO. The huge cupola, the highly decorated baroque towers of the Cathedral of Morelia recall Spain's long-continued domination of Mexico.

MODERN MEXICO. Coca-Cola sign, high buildings lend—but for the palm trees—a typical Gringo character to Mexico City's wide, busy Avenida de Juarez

Heaven for Gringos *continued*

Indians who seem eternally changeless and stoic.

One observes another captivating facet of this ethnographic medley in the juxtaposition of unlike cultures. For instance, the power of the Church has been broken politically. Yet I saw the emotional grip the Church still has on both Indians and *mestizos* (of mixed Indian and Spanish blood), but especially on the Indians, at the annual pilgrimage to the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe, patron saint of Mexico.

Last year, between the 12th and 16th of December, half a million Indians came to this church of softly gilded charm at the edge of the capital on the way to the Teotihuacan pyramids. They came from every state, over mountains which were radiant with orange-colored blossoms, through deserts which were forests of cacti and trees that bore large, paper-white flowers on naked branches. They traveled on foot, barefoot usually.

The pilgrims lived close to Guadalupe for nearly a week. They slept on the pavement around the church, or even inside it, several layers deep. No faces could be seen, only mounds of *serapes*, punctuated by lopsided pyramids which were men sitting in that typical pose: head buried in arms folded across their knees, wrapped in blankets, and topped by *sombreros*.

On the night of the 16th, the benign image of this brown Virgin was carried in a long candlelit procession under the stars up the hill to the place she first appeared in a vision to a little Indian boy. The scene was re-enacted, and after she had been returned to her place over the altar, the celebrants crowded into the church for prayers and blessings.

The thousands of Indians were quiet and moved without shoving. After they had stood for hours in adoration, they gradually seeped out into the cool night, to eat at booths in the plaza, or to buy sacred trinkets under strings of twinkling lights, or to join their tribal dance. Each group of Indians kept up its primitive dance all night in the church yard. The participants were dressed in pre-Cortesian costumes with feather headdresses, and the tunes and steps were touchingly childish.

The patina of crude Christianity embellishes a solid pagan structure. But the transference of faith is complete. It is strangely moving to see a tiny, barefoot, unwashed woman going the length of the church o knees to the altar. If simple fa the strongest faith, then the C may well count among her chi these Indians of Mexico—simple ple who are free from layers of ization which dull the intuition, from the ensnaring folds of so tication, free from the hypocris theology.

While part of the country emerges from primitive pagan ship into Christianity, another of Mexico is emerging from a of colonial amorphism into nat consciousness, rapidly awakening sense of cultural and educationa sponsibility. Still another part its traditional revolutionary ro Communism.

Mexico must be comprehende its various aspects, but even so, is more aware of its shredded qu than its integration. One return Mexico, drawn, not by its mo accomplishments, but rather by attraction of its Indians—mo and babies gracefully swathe blue-black *rebozos*, men who s like statues half a day without tion, quiet children—people of past who are projected mysteri into our present. Given favorable cumstances, they may also repr an unsuspected reservoir for f grandeur.

TRAVEL INTELLIGENCE

AIR TOURS: Encouraged by the 1948 tourist season, airlines have worked out ambitious programs for getting an ever-growing share of international travel. Here are the latest developments:

■ TWA has inaugurated a weekly all-sleeper flight, leaving New York every Friday at 4 p.m. with the return flight leaving Paris every Sunday evening and arriving in New York at 8 a.m. Monday. Here is the de luxe dinner menu on these flights: Cocktails and canapes; grapefruit; consomme; filet mignon bordelaise; fresh asparagus tips; salad; fresh strawberry sundae; coffee. Champagne will be served during dinner, brandy and cordials after coffee.

■ KLM Royal Dutch Airlines in collaboration with Nort Airlines offers a new round-the-world service for $1,700. bound passengers may board a KLM Constellation at New on a Monday and the following day will make a direct conne at Amsterdam for the five-day flight to Shanghai via Cairo, Karachi, Calcutta and Bangkok. From Shanghai to New Northwest Airlines will fly the passengers aboard Douglas planes through Tokyo, Anchorage, Alaska, and US stops to York. Passengers starting at any point along the two sy will be able to make the complete global trip in seven but stopovers will be permitted at any point.

■ Pan American World Airways has announced five 56-da Cruises to Latin America. Leaving New York November 8 cember 6, January 3 and 31, and February 28, the Air C feature 17,000 miles of air travel, plus motor and steamer neys, in Mexico, Central and South America. Mexico City mala City, Quito, Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires, Monte Rio de Janeiro, Santos and Port of Spain are on the itin

RHINE TRIP: The romantic "Rheinfahrt," the boatride Europe's most attractive waterway, is again available. The N lands Steamboat Co. has announced that its boats will Rotterdam twice weekly, Tuesdays and Fridays, arrivin Basle, Switzerland, five days later after a leisurely cruise u Rhine. Nightly layovers at Dusseldorf, Coblentz, Mannheim Schonav. One way fare, $67.

PLANNING A TRIP?

UNITED NATIONS WORLD will be pleased to assist you if you will fill out the coupon below.

I PLAN TO TRAVEL TO: ( ) EUROPE ( ) AFRICA ( ) SOUTH AMERICA ( ) SCANDINAVIA ( ) CENTRAL AMERICA

Name:_____

Address:_____

City and State:_____

NLY THREE AND A HALF YEARS
TER THE WORLD MOURNED HIS PASSING
ALF A HUNDRED VOLUMES
FFER AS MANY VERSIONS OF
RANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AS THERE
RE PREJUDICED WITNESSES TO WRITE THEM

FDR AND FARLEY—WORLD AND POLITICS-MINDED

Battle Over The Bones of FDR

BY KARL SCHRIFTGIESSER
ook Editor of "Newsweek" Magazine

The Amazing Roosevelt Family by Karl Schriftgiesser was the first complete account of both branches of that famous clan which gave Theodore and Franklin Delano to the presidency. Mr. Schriftgiesser's other books include *The Gentleman from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge,* a critical biography of Woodrow Wilson's nemesis and *This Was Normalcy,* a study of Republican party politics in the 12 years between Wilson and Roosevelt. For many years Mr. Schriftgiesser has closely observed the American political scene as an editorial writer and a columnist of the *Washington Post* and later as staff member of the *New York Times.* At the present time he is literary editor of *Newsweek* Magazine. In the following article he evaluates the spate of books on FDR from the point of view of the biographer and historian.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, 32nd President of the United States and the only one to be re-elected three times to that powerful office, died on April 12, 1945. On that day, and for months to come, a world mourned. Now, three and a half years later, the mists have cleared from our eyes and, while most of us may miss his democratic spirit and wonder what has become of the things we thought he stood for, we are able to see him a little clearer than we could when he was living or newly dead.

It is usual, after the death of a famous person, for a flood of biographies to appear on the market. Strangely, since Roosevelt's death only one biography has appeared, a rather superficial effort by Alden Hatch which is little more than an extended obituary. There have, however, been about 50 books of value that treat of Roosevelt and his administrations. It is from these that the future biographers of Roosevelt must draw much of their information.

These books range, alphabetically by authors, from Louis Adamic's *Dinner at the White House* to B. D. Zevins' admirable collection of his speeches, entitled *Nothing to Fear.* The list includes one of the most vitriolic written attacks ever made on a President and much trivia from some of his lesser associates. All are of interest because they preserve some of the personality of the man. The best of them, from the historical and biographical point of view, are the singularly frank books written by a handful of men and one great woman who were his close associate throughout his leadership.

FDR *continued*

It is from the writings, ghosted and otherwise, of such persons as James Aloysius Farley, Harry Hopkins, Harold Ickes, Henry Morgenthau, Edward J. Flynn, John Garner, Henry L. Stimson, James T. Byrnes, Cordell Hull, Donald Nelson, Rexford G. Tugwell, and Miss Frances Perkins that future biographers will draw their various likenesses of the man. All of these were, at one time or another, as close to the official Roosevelt as any one. Miss Perkins knew him longest and perhaps best, for her friendship was social as well as political and went back to his young manhood. Most of the others, including Farley, knew him best after his recovery from infantile paralysis and his return to public life, a life that from that time onward is one of the most astounding in our political records.

Not one of them, it is clear from careful readings of their several books, knew the same man another did. Jim Farley's Roosevelt is not Miss Perkins' Roosevelt, and the Roosevelt Harry Hopkins lived with in the White House is not the Roosevelt Harold Ickes knew from his office across the Washington wastes. The Roosevelt that bantered with Squire Morgenthau on the White House-Treasury telephone is not the same one doughty John Garner knew at Cabinet meetings or party caucuses. As is always the case with men of greatness—witness the hundreds of "interpretations" of Abraham Lincoln, the scores of "analyses" of Woodrow Wilson—there are bound to be as many Roosevelts as there are writers brave enough to try to describe him.

Each member of his official family —Cordell Hull with dignity, Miss Perkins with affection, Jim Farley with bitterness—who has so far delivered his reminiscences of the days of the New Deal and the war period, has given us a different Roosevelt. What was double-dealing to Jim Farley does not seem so to another writer, for each had—and still has—his own purpose in telling of his own association with that Man in the White House.

Taking them all together John T. Flynn, in *The Roosevelt Myth*, has built a shocking caricature of the man beloved by millions. By extracting a dose of venom from Farley, another from Garner, adding it to a frank expression from Miss Perkins and a back-of-the-envelope jotting from the "secret papers" of Harry Hopkins, he has conjured up as great a villain as ever was put on paper.

Flynn can buttress his statements with agate notes citing sources. His chronology is reasonably exact. He has pored over the official records and documents. But 50 years from now the unwary reader, coming across his book, should not be deluded by this false exhibition of scholarship. There should be a biography of every biographer, especially of men like Flynn, to show how they came to write as they do, what impelled them to select this fact and leave that out.

This is as true of Farley as of Flynn, of Miss Perkins as of the rest. Their task for the biographer of Roosevelt is overwhelming. The simplest way to do it of course would be to make a chronological table of events during his tenure of office. Then one would set down what the Postmaster General said about this, what the Secretary of Labor and the Treasurer and Hopkins said about it, and then—after vast research into the newspapers and official records—try to find out who was most objective. The answer probably would be —each was, but only with objectiveness as he or she, from their own viewpoint of self interest, saw it.

From the internal evidence of *Jim Farley's Story* it becomes clear that blunt, honest Jim could never understand the broader aspects of the man whom he helped make President. No

TWO PAIR OF EYES. Ickes' saw a l
eral reformer and anti-fascist; Hull's
Democrat devoted to free-trade princip

one in his time, not even Roosev
had a better understanding of t
mechanics of party politics th
Farley. But his philosophy w
parochial. He could not extend hi
self beyond the confines of his o
upbringing; he could not see the l
issues. It was not his fault. He w
not trained to do so. Thus, for
his thick political skin, when
limitations became a detriment
Roosevelt's greater aims there
veloped a conflict. This turned
personal bitterness when he came
write his book.

HARRY HOPKINS KNEW THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

In different ways this is true
Miss Perkins, whose *The Roosevel
Knew* is a thoughtful appraisal of
man she knew well, understood
a certain extent, and was able to a
proach, soon after his death, wi
amazing detachment. But Miss P
kins (whose title is candidly disar
ing and a warning for all who follo
her in this field) frankly says th
she did not *know* the Commander-
Chief. Her Roosevelt was the Pre
dent who led the New Deal. She w
then his intimate adviser, and wh
it came to a party crisis which s

TWO MORE PAIR. Hopkins saw FDR as a humanitarian and a great wartime lead
in a battle to save world freedom; Madame Perkins saw him, with cool objectivity, as
socially-minded, lovable, sometimes erratic executive—but always a good frie

Farley dethroned and the feelings of others hurt, she was still close enough to talk to him and advise him. But in the wide field of war, she kept silent. Thus for the years of war we have to turn to the jottings of Harry Hopkins, who was then as close to him as any living person. And so, to understand Roosevelt, we must understand Hopkins, and all the others whom Roosevelt trusted or distrusted, pampered or scolded, raised up or let down during his years of power.

It is no wonder, then, that the true Roosevelt is now being lost in confusion. Even such a great historian as Charles A. Beard, from motives that are strange and obscure, in his two studies of Roosevelt's foreign policy, has deliberately added to the chaos. In Beard's view Roosevelt dishonestly led the American people into a war that could have been avoided. He lied and tricked and squirmed in order (as John T. Flynn would have it) to take the people's mind off the "failure" of the New Deal by means of a war, the only purpose of which was to carve Roosevelt's own historical niche!

But was the New Deal a failure? Who of us, so close to those passionate days, can say? Flynn angrily shouts that it was. Dixon Wecter, in his calm *The Age of the Great Depression,* says that it was not. Well, historians are still wrangling over the causes and consequences of the Civil War and whole libraries are crowded with dissident views as to the causes and consequences of the first World War and the Peace of Versailles.

Could we have avoided war? And if we could, should we? Should Roosevelt have told "the people" more of what he knew than he did? And if he had told them, would his political opponents have allowed them to believe him, or themselves? (Bruce Catton, in his excellent *The War Lords of Washington,* says we lost the main objective of the war because the Roosevelt administration failed to tell the people the truth but let the hucksters of big business *sell* the war to them, like so much soap.) These are but a few of the questions already raised that historians will be sifting for years to come. As they sift them, each as objectively as he can but each (and let the historians deny it!) with his own prejudices, the essential Roosevelt will probably escape farther into the mists of mythology. Is Hay's or Herndon's, Sandberg's or Randall's Lincoln the true one? Nobody now will ever know. Just as he eluded definition by his contemporaries, so he eluded finality at the hands of the biographers.

THE QUESTION REMAINS— WHICH ROOSEVELT WAS FDS?

Just recently Princeton University Press published a selected bibliography of Woodrow Wilson and listed 100 books written about him or his close contemporaries since his death in 1925. I have read most of them, some of them very closely, but I do not pretend to know Wilson. Was he as cold as some say he was? Was Roosevelt as shifty as Farley contends? Was Wilson right in refusing to take a bi-partisan group to Paris? Was Roosevelt right in trying to revamp the Supreme Court?

Wilson had been dead 15 years before Ray Standard Baker had finished his supposedly definitive biography of eight volumes. Last year there appeared the first volume of a new many-volumed biography that many students believe will eventually supplant Baker's great study. Roosevelt has been dead less than four years but already half a hundred books have appeared that must be consulted by all who would write about him, and the archives of Rooseveltiana have not yet been tapped. The task, even now, of trying to say, in solemn, honest words what Roosevelt really was, and what he really did, and why he was and why he did the things he did, is frightening even to contemplate.

For, as one reads even at this barely perceptible perspective the various accounts, these friendly and unfriendly recitals, these sometimes candid and sometimes self-seeking appraisals, it seems as if Roosevelt was already a myth. For, simple and friendly as he seemed, he was a most complex man. Nobody yet has gone behind that wonderful smile to find the reality of the man. Probably it will never be found. For the biography of Roosevelt can never be the story of one man, but of many men, and millions of men and women—a history of our time.

A Selected Bibliography Of Roosveltiana

LOUIS ADAMIC: **Dinner at the White House.**
Adamic brought a penetrating mind to one dinner with FDR.

CHARLES A. BEARD: **American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1941; President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941.**
The famous historian tries to prove that FDR was a villain.

JAMES F. BYRNES: **Speaking Frankly.**
FDR's assistant president speaks his mind about the peace.

DONALD SCOTT CARMICHAEL: **F.D.R., Columnist.**
Valuable information about FDR at Warm Springs.

BRUCE CATTON: **War Lords of Washington.**
How Big Business took over the New Deal in wartime.

EDWARD J. FLYNN: **You're the Boss.**
A party leader tells about Roosevelt's nominations.

JOHN T. FLYNN: **The Roosevelt Myth.**
A violent attack on Roosevelt and all his works.

DONDAL PORDER GEDDES, EDITOR: **Franklin Delano Roosevelt: A Memorial.**
America's reaction to the death of Roosevelt.

ALDEN HATCH: **Franklin D. Roosevelt: An Informal Biography.**
Superficial, but the only posthumous biography so far.

RICHARD GOFSTADTER: **The American Political Tradition.**
Contains a provocative chapter on FDR.

CORDELL HULL: **Memoirs of Cordell Hull.**
FDR's Secretary of State presents his point of view.

HAROLD L. ICKES: **My Twelve Years with Roosevelt.**
The Old Curmudgeon speaks his mind.

WALTER MILLIS: **This Is Pearl.**
The best account of the events leading up to the Day of Infamy.

GEORGE MORGENSTERN: **Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War.**
A Chicago Tribune's biased account of the same.

HENRY L. MORGENTHAU: **The Morgenthau Diaries.**
A brief Colliers Magazine serialization of the Secretary of the Treasury's journal.

ROSS T. McINTYRE: **White House Physician.**
FDR's physician tells what he thinks should be known about FDR's health.

EVELYN NESBITT: **White House Diary.**
White House intimacies by FDR's housekeeper. Discreet but very human.

FRANCES PERKINS: **The Roosevelt I Knew.**
Miss Perkins is the fairest of them all. Critical but honest.

C. HERMAN PRITCHETT: **The Roosevelt Court.**
A fine analysis of the judicial heritage of FDR.

MICHAEL F. REILLY: **Reilly of the White House.**
Personality stuff.

ELLIOTT ROOSEVELT: **As He Saw It.**
FDR's son tells what he remembers that his father said at Yalta, etc. Indispensable.

ELLIOTT ROOSEVELT, EDITOR: **F.D.R. His Personal Letters.**
Thus far only FDR's childhood years (through Harvard) but eventually other volumes will take in his whole life. Indispensable.

ROBERT W. SHERWOOD: **Roosevelt and Hopkins.**
The invaluable notes of FDR's closest friend and advisor.

MERRIMAN W. SMITH: **Thank You Mr. President.**
Personality stuff by a White House reporter.

HENRY L. STIMSON: **On Active Service in War and Peace.**
FDR's Republican Secretary of War tells his story.

REXFORD GUY TUGWELL: **Our Stricken Land.**
Mostly about Puerto Rico but with valuable Rooseveltiana by an original New Dealer.

DIXON WECTER: **Age of the Great Depression.**
A sane and sound account of what the New Deal really meant.

B. D. ZEVIN: **Nothing to Fear.**
A good, brief collection of FDR's best speeches and chats.

K. S.

Are you an *uncomfortable* liberal?

IF SO, what are the chances for your vote and your beliefs in a world that seems to be headed for communism or fascism?

The Political Tradition of The West

by Frederick Watkins

The author gives historic validity to liberalism, tracing its concept of "freedom under law" from ancient Greece and Rome to modern times. He shows what other crises it has gone through, how democratic ideas have survived—and the chances for their survival in leadership today. *368 pages, $5.00*

Foreign Economic Policy for the United States

Edited by Seymour E. Harris

Twenty-five leading experts, many of whom have helped shape American economic policy in foreign lands, here explain all its important aspects. *490 pages, $6.00*

The first general account of the Marshall Plan—how it works and what it will mean to people abroad and at home.

The European Recovery Program

by Seymour E. Harris

One of our outstanding writers on economics provides the facts behind the hot political issues of ERP. His book gives American citizens the chance to understand and decide for themselves the wisdom of taking Secretary Marshall's prudent risk. *$4.50*

At all bookstores

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

World Books *continued*

FACTS ON UN

Everyman's United Nations

Prepared by the UN Department of Public Information. A United Nations World Book. New York, Funk & Wagnalls and United Nations World. Paper edition $1.00. Special Library edition $2.00.

A concise, clear and comprehensive volume telling the whole tale of the United Nations. Part One deals with the origin and the machinery of the Organization, explaining the composition, the functions and the power of the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice, and Secretariat. Part Two presents the UN in action, and gives the historic details of such momentous events as the establishment of the Balkan Commission, the partition of Palestine, the India-Pakistan Question, the debates on Atomic Energy, etc. Other no less important chapters deal with non-political problems: world trade, health, social and economic conditions around the world. Part Three reports on the activities of the Specialized Agencies, the International Labor Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, UNESCO, International Civil Aviation Organization, etc. A selected bibliography completes the attractive, slim volume, the most readable and most useful general book written about the UN to date. T. K.

LATIN LORE

The Golden Land

An Anthology of Latin American Folklore in Literature. Selected, Edited, and Translated by Harriedt de Onís. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, $4.00.

This is an anthology to illustrate a theory. It seeks to demonstrate the extent to which Latin American authors, from colonial times, have drawn upon the rich imaginative resources of three ancestral strains to create a luxuriant literature, fused by the remarkable centripetal force exerted by the land itself.

With or without a theory, Mrs. de Onís who has translated most of the selections in the book is to be thanked for making available these superb examples of a literature so little known to readers of English. Her editorial notes integrate the material, and illuminate it.

Outstanding are Father José de Acosta's record of the omens which appeared to the tragic King Montezuma portending the end of the Aztec culture; Bartolomé Martínez y Vela's entertaining anecdotes from the Annals of the Imperial City of Potosí; Enrique Lopez Albujar's absorbing modern tale of a Peruvian Indian condemned to a horrifying death by his tribal council; and the classic Brazilian writer, Euclides da Cunha's description of a mystic who once walked the land.

Merely as a social document this book has value: it contradicts a number of arguments for racial exclusiveness. While the Spanish and Portuguese colonizers slew and enslaved as cruelly as any, they also int married with and admitted to dignity more primitive peoples they encounter Today the untrammeled genius of Ne and Indian has combined with the Span to form culture, vital and new. B

OPINION ON RUSSIA

As We See Russia

by Members of the Overseas Press Club America. New York, Dutton, $3.75.

This book is exactly what its title implies first-hand report of impressions the autho 20 men and 5 women, gathered during st varying from periods of a few weeks many years in the Soviet Union and natio under Soviet influence. A single thre seems to run through the volume—that t USSR is not only an uncomfortable, but well-nigh impossible place in which to li that there is insufficient food, clothing a shelter, that there is no political or civ freedom, that the people are unhappy.

Two of the essays which stand out models of objectivity and careful analys are those written by Leland Stowe, whi deals with the USSR's inability to ta world leadership because of the poor qua ity of her top diplomats and the comparab situation in the US with its need for great political maturity, and the second writt by Larry Lesueur which described the S viet armies and their underlying philosoph

"As We See Russia" is divided into fo sets of essays—Aspirations, The People, T System, & Delusions. It is well-written, varying crisp reportorial styles, and we edited. The greatest divergence of opinic is found among the women. One may amazed at the kindliness and nostalgia wi which Oriana Atkinson describes the Ru sians, recalling the rather severe castigatic offered by her husband not too long ag Tracey Phillips is somewhat less symp thetic and contradicts Mrs. Atkinson w states that the Russian women have natural beauty. Sonia Tamara, herself Russian birth and upbringing, tries to e plain what makes them tick.

P. M.

AFRICAN COLOR

In Search of South Africa

by H. V. Morton. New York, Dodd, Mea and Company, $4.00.

H. V. Morton. having searched his hom land and the Bible Lands has, it seems, an we trust, embarked upon a search of th Dominions. Not an explorer in the gran manner of Doughty, nor a sensationalist lik Halliburton, he is the Prince of Touris with an eye for atmosphere and an ear fo anecdote, whose informative books should b on the shelves of every armchair wandere

Equipped with letters of introduction t hospitable people, and reservations at th best hotels, we accompany Mr. Morton o a tour of coastal South Africa past queerl carved mountains to the Orange Free Stat and the Transvaal. Here and there we paus for a spot of history, a short course in loca

mology. We gasp at the wildlife, admire graceful Bantu girl. We peep into the me of Cecil Rhodes and learn that that bulously rich Empire Builder was a man simple tastes, and an authority on Byzanie history. We visit an ostrich farm, and ive at night through a forest where the gest elephants in the world are said to e. We see diamonds in Kimberly, go wn a gold mine in Johannesburg. We ave the present altogether to relive the ys of the Great Boer Trek, one of the ost thrilling of all pioneer tales. We pity e state of the Poor White who lives in palling squalor, forbidden to work at the enial jobs of Negroes, and we take note the opinions of many liberal South Afrins; but for the most part we avert our inds from our host's domestic problems.

B. S.

AMERICAN COLOR

A Man Called White

by Walter White. New York. The Viking ress. $3.75

his stirring autobiography has three utstanding merits. It is a heart-warming ersonal adventure story on the political nd moral planes, it is an exceptionally aluable source book of race relations in ie United States during the past decades, nd finally, it is written at once calmly nd forcefully, the effects being achieved y use of significant historic detail.

The life story of Walter White is the ecording of a good and important fight. ssentially it concerns his trials and tribuations, his victories and defeats as the utstanding leader of the National Assoiation for the Advancement of Colored eople. The narrative reflects the virtues hich have helped White to become a ationally respected figure; faith, courage, ntellectual brilliance and absolute objecivity. Walter White is an uncommonly ffective writer.

T. K.

TRAGIC ADOLESCENTS

The Sky Is Red

by Giuseppe Berto. New York, New Directions. $3.50.

The great majority of the good novels comng out of Europe move on an overwhelmngly intellectual plane. Their authors are isturbed men who write because they wish o create some order out of the present haos. They offer philosophies and probe atterns of behavior, anxious to explain hy men and societies act as they do.

It is a rare pleasure to discover a minor asterpiece which from the first page to he last appeals to the heart instead of the ntellect. The heroes of *The Sky Is Red* are dolescents: two boys and two girls beween 14 and 16. They hide away among he ruins in a bombed-out Italian town.

Yet they don't live like animals; they beave like noble little creatures even if ullio steals to give to the poor and Carla rostitutes herself. Their nobility comes rom the heart. The world is a hostile, bitter place, and they try to find an answer n devotion, friendship, loyalty, love.

The beauty of their innocence is overwhelming. And so is the tragedy of that

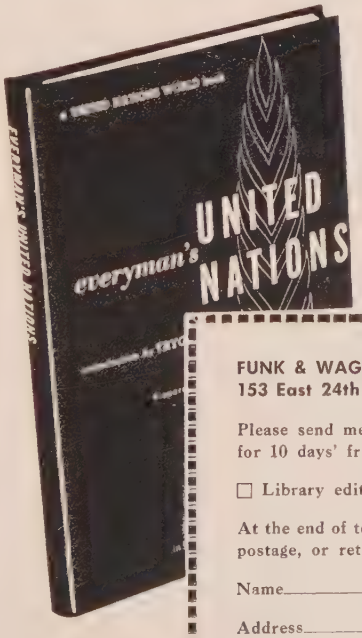
An indispensable guide to the **UN** *—the one organization today which holds out hope to man*

everyman's UNITED NATIONS

Prepared by the UN Department of Public Information
With an introduction by TRYGVE LIE, Secretary General

HERE is an accurate, informative, authoritative guide to the United Nations, its purposes and principles, its functions and powers . . . written for all the "peoples" of the world, in whose name the UN was founded.

Everyman's UNITED NATIONS deals not only with the political and security aspects of the UN, so frequently highlighted in the world's press. It also explains those less spectacular but no less important efforts to improve economic and social conditions . . . to remove the barriers to world trade . . . to eradicate social evils . . . to be sure that accurate information shall be freely available. It discusses in some detail the special agencies—those inter-governmental organizations working in the economic, social, educational, health and related fields, which are linked by agreements with the United Nations. It furnishes a selected bibliography of UN publications.



■ It is up to all of us to help make the UN work. To do so we need factual information about what it is, its purposes, principles, functions and powers. Here it is in this splendid book. Library edition $2.00. Paper-bound, $1.00. At all bookstores, or send this coupon.

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY
153 East 24th St., New York 10, N. Y.

Please send me _____ copies of everyman's UNITED NATIONS for 10 days' free examination on approval. I would like the

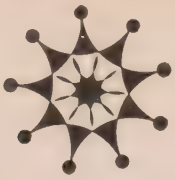
☐ Library edition $2.00 ☐ paper-bound $1.00

At the end of ten days I agree to remit $ _____, plus a few cents postage, or return the book(s) postpaid.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone ____ State _____ UN11



WHAT IS A BAHÁ'Í?

A Bahá'í is one who believes that God reveals His love and guidance to men in fuller measure from age to age.

A Bahá'í believes that the promised day of spiritual knowledge has dawned.

A Bahá'í accepts as a universal and world religion the faith proclaimed by Bahá'u'lláh. "These fruitless strifes and ruinous wars shall pass away, and the Most Great Peace shall come." To a Bahá'í, true religion is education for a peaceful society.

Bahá'í Literature Free on Request

BAHÁ'Í PUBLIC RELATIONS
Wilmette, Illinois, U.S.A.

Just Published!

FEDERAL WORLD GOVERNMENT

Reference Shelf . . $1.50

This new book carries on from:

United Nations or World Government?

(2nd Printing) Now 75c

Both books are Reference Shelf compilations, and include the background and the best of the pro and con arguments as expressed by authorities.

Also Just Published in the same series:

THE DILEMMA OF POSTWAR GERMANY

Reference Shelf . . . $1.50

THE H. W. WILSON CO.
950 University Ave. New York 52

World Books *continued*

innocence. Here, in a society which has lost form and its meaning, are four youngsters who fill it with a new meaning: with all the strength of devotion and affection they find in their own breasts. In the end the world subdues them. But the reader knows that the defeat of the power of love is the defeat of all men. T. K.

EUROPEAN ECONOMY

Economic Inventory of Europe

Published by the Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques. Special series: Studies and Forecasts. Paris, 1948, Universities of France Edition. 555 pages. 800 francs. (In French)

Since its founding two years ago, the *Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques* has established an admirable reputation for precise and extensive documentation of trends crucial to economic redemption. The present volume compares the European economy as it exists today with the way it looked before the war. It does this job by means of an impressive and judicious array of statis arranged by subject: terrain and demo phy; war losses; basic agricultural p ucts; electric light and power; indust production; transportation; prices rates of exchange; public finances; wa salaries and labor-supply; foreign change, and balance of payments.

The study groups which pooled t and talent in making this comparison h shed considerable light on three fun mental problems: (1) the reconstruct of production facilities; (2) the need redistribute scarce consumer goods m equitably; (3) the need to correct underlying imbalance of foreign tra particularly in relation to the United Sta

One can have only two criticisms, wh are really only regrets, about this wo (a) the data on the USSR remain fr mentary, and (b) the delay, caused by very real difficulties of compilation a printing, deprives readers of the lat statistics. However, this inventory is valuable to the person who wants to kn the facts behind the present state of European economy.

N. Tolu, Pa

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE

MILAN: A NOVEL IN SEARCH OF AN AUTHOR

TWO AUTHORS claim to have written the novel which won the "Marchisio Prize" the Istituto Editoriale Italiano. Upon publication of the winner's name, a young woma of Ravenna, a former Italian soldier protested to the publishers that the *signorina* ha merely typed his manuscript and had fraudulently submitted her own name instea of his as that of the author. Unable to decide between the contestants the publishe have submitted the case to court judgment.

BUDAPEST: BARTOKIANA

TWO POSTHUMOUS volumes by Béla Bartok who died two years ago in New Yo have been published recently. One deals with his researches in Hungarian folklor The other is a selection of his letters.

MEXICO CITY: TEARS

AN EYE-WITNESS account of the riots during the Bogotá conference has been pul lished by Editorial B. Costa Amic. under the title *Colombia en el llanto*—"Colombia i Tears." The author, Eliseo Martínez Zelada, who was a member of the Guatemala delegation to the Pan American conference, has included a great amount of importa background information on events leading up to the riot.

PARIS: NOVELIST PLAYWRITERS

THE THEATRICAL season of Paris will see the production of two plays by Albe Camus, author of *The Plague*. One, *Bagne de Cadiz* will be presented by Jean Lou Barrault with music by Honegger. Jean-Paul Sartre is preparing a play for the augus Comédie Française.

STOCKHOLM: LAST MESSAGE

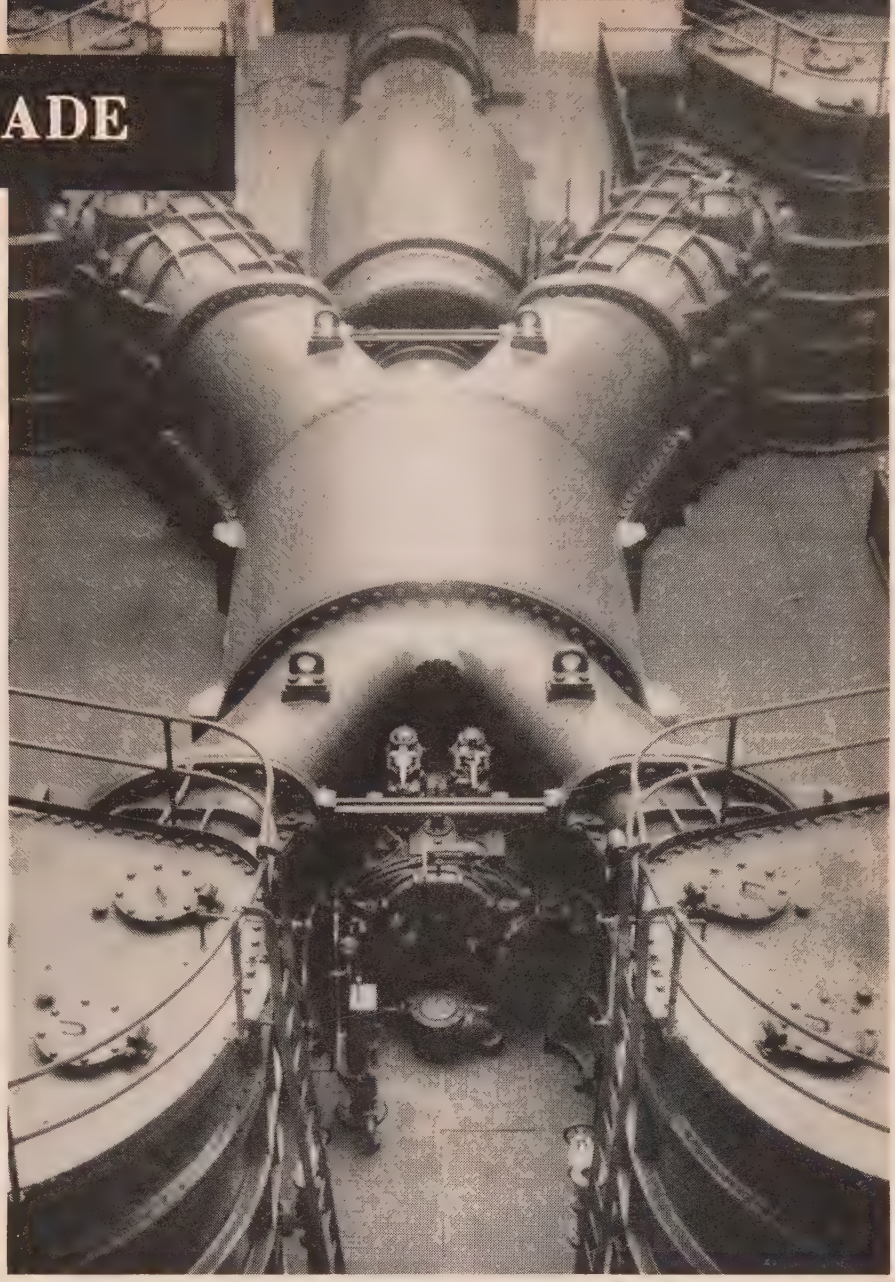
COUNT FOLKE BERNADOTTE'S autobiographical book, *I stället för vapen*—"Instea of Arms"—was published 48 hours before his assassination (Norstedts). It deals wit his activities from the outbreak of the war until his assignment as mediator in Palestin

J. P. HODIN'S biography, *Edward Munch Der Genius des Nordens*—"Edward Munch the Genius of the North"—is a comprehensive and illuminating study of the grea Norwegian painter whom many considered as the father of German expressionism an one of the most important artists of the century. (Stockholm: Neuer Verlag.)

WORLD TRADE

NOVEMBER, 1948

'STERDAY'S EMPIRES WERE BUILT
N COAL AND PETROLEUM
OMORROW'S, EVEN THOUGH
UCLEAR FISSION REPLACES FUELS.
ILL BE BASED
N KILOWATT HOURS



ENERGY NOT ANGUISH. power not labor—this is 20th-century nonatomic anthropomechanicus: the world's largest generating plant at Hammond, Indiana.

Policy Report On World Trends in Electric Power

SIXTH IN A SERIES OF UN WORLD COMMODITY SURVEYS BY THE EDITORS

THE struggle for existence has been defined by Darwin as the rvival of the fittest, by Marx as ass conflict, by James as the appli- tion of the pleasure-pain principle, Adler as the will-to-power. But rhaps the most sense-making defi- tion for modern man is that ad- nced 62 years ago by Ludwig oltzman, the brilliant and prophetic ustrian physicist.

The struggle for existence, Boltz- man declared, is primarily and in- creasingly the struggle to capture or create energy with which to do the world's work. Certainly the study of energetics as the X element causing change in human affairs has been unduly buried underneath records chronicling the acts of statesmen and diplomats, of industrialists and gen- erals and educators. It has been made a mere footnote to trade, to war, to social convulsion.

Yet man's quest for control over inanimate energy has been, far more than historians usually perceive, the mover and shaker behind the rise and fall of monarchies, democracies and dictatorships ever since the late 18th century. From the time coal became established as the proper fuel for Mr. Watt's steam engine, man largely ceased to panhandle nature for a hat- ful of stray energy—wind for his sails or water to turn his mill wheels.

The UN and US Business ■ *Morris S. Rosenthal on the ITO* ■ *Shipping and the ECA*

Electric Power *continued*

He passed in a few generations from casual appropriation to conscious exploitation. His appetite grew with the strength coal and steam and steel endowed him. As it converted into fresh energy the stored-up sunlight of geological eons, empires rose and nations fell; while in jungle, desert and island new sources of energy were sought, found and fought over.

Until this moment, the major struggles have been for coal and oil. They continue. But now a new world-wide struggle begins—for electric power. Today the world quite naturally accepts the thesis that a turbine or a generator is a weapon of war, and their movement across the front between the world's two great powers has been suspended. Previous UNW commodity surveys pointed out that coal and oil still supply the major sources of energy. But electric power, derived from both of these fuels as from running water, is coming up fast. One circumstance that makes the new struggle for energy so different from those to which we have grown used to is that electricity, in the form used for home and street lamps, for toaster, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, and in the factory to keep assembly lines moving, is found nowhere in nature. It has to be generated from other types of energy, whether "thermal" (coal, peat, oil, wood) or hydro(water). It is—and we too seldom realize the significance of this—a manufactured energy. Intricately contrived and carried and consumed, electrical energy is the miracle of our daily life.

Unlike any other manufactured product, electricity is invisible and weightless. It is delivered by wire or cable encased in underground conduits instead of by truck, ship, freight car, or plane. Moreover, while every other type of manufactured commodity can be turned out at a uniform rate, in accord with "staggered" schedules, and can be stored in stockroom or warehouse, awaiting the customer's purchase, electricity has to be manufactured and instantaneously transmitted to the buyer, at any hour, around the clock, on demand.

Over any particular time span, the customer may use no electricity, but when he wants it, it has to be there at the turn of a switch, at the press of a button, whether for powering an electric razor or a punch-press for stamping out trailer frames. Its availability is aided by the fact that it travels with great speed, up to that of light, a circumstance that gave special comfort to Thomas A. Edison when, on September 4, 1882, on Pearl Street, in lower New York City, he opened the world's first station to produce and distribute electric power.

"I remember well that afternoon," Edison recalled in 1928. "The reporter from the *Evening Sun* who came to interview me at the station was an alert and agreeable young man, with an average degree of skepticism. It was obvious that the little station with its 'thirty balloon-shaped globes ranged at intervals at either side of the room' and 'glowing with incandescent horseshoes' seemed hardly more than an amusing toy to him.

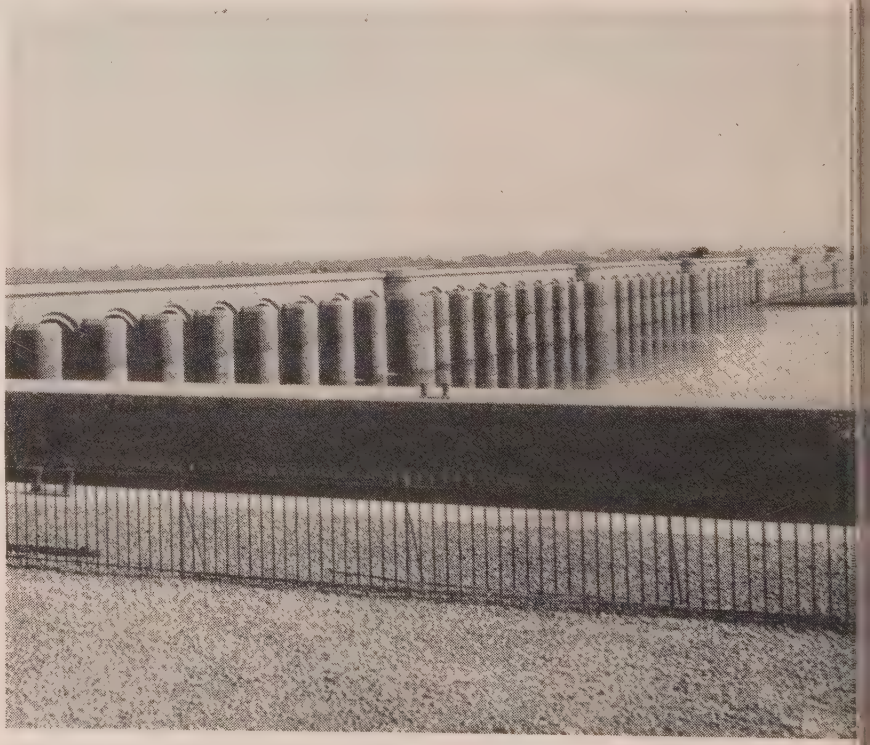
"He could not conceive that it meant the end of the candle, and oil lamp, and gas lamp, the end of the horse and carriage, the end of one epoch in civilized life and the beginning of another . . . I was a young man then. I am an old man now I have lived to see the streetcar, elevator, the automobile, the phonograph, the motion picture, the radio, the airplane and the beginnings of television . . . I look back with happiness upon that eventful afternoon 45 years ago. . . . What will be happening to electricity 45 years from now?"

What is happening 20 years after Edison asked this question is that over and above its obvious uses, electric energy has become the chief power in modern industrial production, and is duplicating that development in modern agricultural production.

In 1908, for example, 71 per cent of the total installed horsepower in American industrial plants was mechanical and only 29 per cent electrical. Today, that horsepower is 94 per cent electrical and 6 per cent mechanical.

This shift is especially important when it is recalled that the ability of human muscles to generate "work energy" is extremely low, rated at 1/50 horsepower — a 1-horsepower motor yields energy equal to that of 50 men. In 1848, a hundred years ago, the US worker was backed

A SMALL SAMPLE OF WHAT COULD BE DONE IN AFRICA



EGYPTIAN POWER. This is Aswan Dam on the Nile, showing the upriver side of the structure. High-water mark may be seen on its massive pillars. Though potentially rich in power, Africa produced only 6 billion KWH (see chart) for lack of more da

by .02 (est.) of horsepower; in 1879 by 1.3; in 1909 by 2.9; in 1929 by 4.86; in 1939 by 6.4; in 1948 by 7.2.

The application of electrical energy to save time and labor in the US factory is still progressing. Hence foreign engineers, economists, managers, and government experts charged with the task of re-building, or modernizing and mechanizing the industrial operations of their own countries display an almost feverish interest in US productivity as sustained and advanced by electric energy.

They observe, first of all, that the overhead cluster of cogs, pulleys, shafts, and belts which, with their noise, are hallmark of mechanical power, and which still remain a scenic feature of most factories in Asia and Europe, has been eliminated in the American plant.

They observe that, among other things, the electric eye detects flaws in everything from a plastic tumbler to a traction pump, discarding the imperfect items; that electric furnaces furnish high uniform temperatures for the manufacture of metal alloys; that electric current welds magnesium, aluminum, and stainless and other steels; that lighting and ventilation are superior when electrically controlled.

On the farm, they observe the ever-growing use of electricity to milk cows, pasteurize milk, sterilize pails, pans, bottles, churn cream into butter, pump water from the well, hatch chickens, keep them warm, candle and grade and store eggs, provide light for house, barns and yards and —in some sections—heat as well.

They observe, in coal, copper and tungsten mines, management seeking to put through programs of electrification that will bring the installed horsepower up from an average of 2 per worker to match that of 7.2 for the average employee in US factories.

Though the US already generates and consumes half the world's electric energy (see chart, page 00), spokesmen for its public utilities, together with producers of electrical appliances and apparatus, expect that in the next decade use of electric energy in America will continue to grow in both relative and absolute terms. A forecast covering the 1947-1957 period, plotted by Westinghouse statisticians, indicates that US residential consumption of electric energy in 1957 may average 2400 KWH (kilowatt hours) per home as against 1389 in 1947, an increase of nearly 100 per cent.

The forecast even concedes the possibility of an intervening depression. It points out, however, that though during tight times people conserve by deferring the purchase of a new dress, or suit, or car, they don't stop using their refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, electric ranges and irons.

Moreover, it is anticipated that during the next 10 years, air conditioning, higher lighting standards, and the scarcity of domestic help, all will tend to increase the residential "home load" which in 1947 accounted for 18.7 per cent of KWH sales, while farms accounted for 4.1 per cent; commercial and industrial groups for 69.9 per cent and all others for 7.3 per cent.

Those who believe that the US economy is in a stage of wobbling "maturity," as a prologue to decay into senility, will find a certain check to their predictions in both Westinghouse and General Electric estimates that, by 1957, assuming a high level of industrial activity and employment, sales of electric energy in the US will go up from 218 billion KWH in 1947 to some 400 billion.

A CARTOGRAPHIC CHART OF REGIONAL POWER PRODUCTION

WORLD POWER. The concern of the rest of the world with the building of new power plants becomes obvious on studying this chart. Here is clear exposition of the industrial superiority of the US—producing as it does 307 billion of the world's total of some 700 billion KWH. Russia is in second place with 61, Germany is third with 48, and Canada comes fourth with 45.

Electric Power *continued*

Commonwealth and Southern is even more bullish. It seems convinced that US electric light and power facilities will sell 600 billion KWH in 1960, or virtually three times actual requirements in 1947.

The Cleveland Illuminating Co., basing its projections on the assumption that the rate of growth between 1946 and 1976 will be roughly one-half that of the 1916-1946 period has arrived at a forecast of 1000 billion KWH sales 28 years hence.

Behind these long-range calculations are such portents as these:

■ The faster an industry increases its output, the more electric energy it buys. During the 1939-1946 years, chemicals, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, paper, oil and coal enlarged production more rapidly than any other US industries and respectively increased their use of electric energy by 5, 20, 44, 5.1, and 18 per cent.

■ The trend to replace steam locomotives by those with electric drives on all US railroad systems.

■ Needs for electric energy for wind tunnels to test new airplanes.

■ New airport lighting and landing and fire-control equipment.

■ Growth in use of electronic processes to analyze chemical compounds, trap dirt and dust particles, measure "sunfall," microscopically magnify objects by 200,000,000 times.

■ Purchase of 750,000 new television sets and 10 to 17 million radios a year.

■ More intensive industrial application of electric energy to annealing, brazing, radio frequency heating, electroplating.

■ While the sales of electrical machinery in 1917 were only $700,000, they had risen to $7,000,000,000 in 1947 and promise to reach $11,000,000,000 in 1957.

■ During the trough of the depression in 1933, the gross national product fell 44.9 per cent below the peak in 1929, but sales of electric energy fell only 15 per cent.

To meet the continuing rise in demand for electric energy in its various manifestations, both private and government owned utilities will have to enlarge their present capacity of 52 million KW to 95 million within the next decade. But this is more readily stated than executed.

In the first place, shortages in steel, copper, and other materials hinder new building. In the second place, a top priority item on the agenda of US defense officials is the problem of how best to protect electric light and power facilities should war break out. In that event, they are the most fragile, vulnerable target in the "technologically tenuous" complex of the US economy.

One sure way to paralyze industry, to throw communities into chaos, is to knock out the suppliers of electric energy. Hence, US strategic planners have already drawn up elaborate programs designed not only to decentralize electric power plants, but also to sub-divide national generating, transmitting and dispatching capacity into chains of self-contained units, as far separated from each other as possible, and as far away from industrial centers as possible.

If one is destroyed, the hope is that a second or third or fourth can make up for a substantial portion, if not all, of the lost capacity. The first industry, under M-Day blue-prints, to be placed underground in "caves," will be the electric industry—a grim, final proof of its primary and indispensable character.

The US producers of electric energy can therefore hardly move ahead without synchronizing future expansion with the exigencies of the military occasion. Financing is no handicap.

A very real source of potential trouble is that of alloting scarce electrical equipment (turbines, generators, cables, wiring, steel products) between US and ERP claimants. The five-year program of electric energy expansion in Marshall Plan countries is infinitely more ambitious than that envisaged for the US. That program consists of two equally ambitious parts:

1. A national plan under which each ERP nation will enlarge its generating capacity for internal use;

2. An international plan under which several ERP countries, such as Austria, Switzerland, Italy will share in the production and distribution of electric energy.

The national plan entails a total outlay of $5,000,000,000 before January 1, 1952, with the ERP countries supplying $4,700,000,000 and US the remaining $300,000,000 some 6 per cent. When compl this will enlarge generating cap about 50 per cent over 1947.

The international plan is no aspirant, if less spectacular. It for the expenditure of $315,000 to be provided chiefly by Mar Plan funds. In both cases, the contribution is to be made up on part of dollars, but also in the and hydraulic equipment.

However, the present and f status of ERP electric light power facilities has been too opti tically treated. Too often wish-f ment has taken the place of h headed appraisal. After all, the electric plant, considered as a w has suffered damage from air and artillery fire, from demoli from sabotage, from lack of part maintenance and repair. More requirements of ERP countries essentially competitive with thos US utilities, which will tend t favored.

ERP nations are not suffici strong industrially to supply their own key equipment. Eve cases such as the United King where manufacturing capacity narily could turn out enough ele cal equipment, diversion to pro tion for export makes this impos

In view of ever-more urgent needs, the hitherto unrealized e of damage to Western European cilities for making electric ene the inability of ERP recipient produce sufficient machinery, it be impossible for them to reach five-year goal originally set. T electrification programs will from seven to nine years instead.

Although in ERP countries electric energy system has been e nationalized or under rigid gov ment direction, the bulk of the system—with such exceptions as ous municipal plants, the fam TVA and the state of Nebraska p and light monopoly—remains in vate hands. It is a symbol of business under government reg tion, but not under government trol. In the US the question of pri vs. public ownership of electric ergy resources is a very live is They exist side by side, often ser as a "yardstick" for each other. spite years of campaigning advoc of "public power" are still a long from winning the argument.

The UN and American Business

THE UN HAS BILLIONS TO LOAN AND SPEND—

IT HAS ALREADY STARTED

ONE WORLD BOOM WITH ONLY A FEW MILLIONS

BY HERBERT HARRIS
World Business Editor

THE influence of UN economic activities on world business is increasingly vital even if too little recognized. To furnish the US businessman with the background trends of this phenomenon, UNITED NATIONS WORLD will present a series of special surveys and interpretations, on a policy level, of the UN and world markets, the UN and labor supply, UN and currency stabilization and related topics. Too few US financiers, industrialists, exporters and economists as yet realize the extent to which the UN operation is big business, very big business on a global scale. Its projects and programs increasingly mean huge orders for manufacturers and merchandisers, especially in the US.

No market research today, no forecast of national or world trends in business volume, can any longer be realistically conducted without constant appraisal of what the UN and its 14 specialized agencies are doing.

The UN is continuously co-ordinating world production and world money and world trade. This tripod, in turn, is supported and steadied by the growing needs and wants of peoples everywhere. The UN's economic activities are hourly opening up hitherto undreamed of markets.

For example, the World Health Organization (WHO) has caused a boom demand for medical supplies all over the world. It is introducing everywhere the concept that health is not only an individual and community responsibility but is a primary factor in the productivity of labor, whether on the farm or in the factory, and a prerequisite for building strong, sound national economies. As the result, there is already visible a tremendous increase in the manufacture and sale of everything from soaps and serums and drugs and hypodermic needles to ex-ray equipment and eye glasses. All this in spite of the fact that WHO itself is spending only a few millions of dollars. But the Bank and Fund even now are operating on a billion dollar scale. The total effect of UN operations, whether of money loaned, spent directly or in the form of stimulated outlays offer a potential multi-billion dollar market for US businessmen.

The International Trade Organization (ITO), has been sponsored vigorously by the UN as one of its future key agencies. Though still in an early stage of development, ITO's aims reflect in essence UN determination to free commerce.

With the onset of world-wide depression during the 1930's, every nation sought to seal itself off from the contagion of poverty and unemployment and declining output. It clamped down rigid controls with a double purpose: to restrict imports, and at the same time to force or dump its own products on foreign markets. Tariff duties were raised on goods coming into the country. Currency and exchange rates were juggled and currency movement curbed to better buying or selling positions. Import quotas and export subsidies combined to support often-uneconomic home industries. The net effect of all this was an international trade hostility that amounted to a "cool war." World trade between 1928 and 1939 declined by 30 per cent, retarding recovery, leading toward war.

The ITO is designed to substitute an open-door policy for this closed-door policy that failed so dismally.

The ITO's underlying ideas are very simple:

- That hunger and want cause not only economic chaos but also outbreaks of violence.
- That, while economic causes are not the only causes of war, whether civil or between states, they are major.
- That no nation, no matter how powerful, can long thrive as an island of prosperity in a sea of poverty.

It has become high US economic policy to seek a guarantee of its own stability and security through (1) economic assistance on a large scale to war devastated and underdeveloped nations and (2) movement toward this objective within an expanding world trade, characterized by genuine competitive opportunity.

The Charter's single over-all objective is to promote, encourage and enlarge that kind of world trade.

The Charter is a voluntary compact. ITO policy will be made by all its members, each with a vote and none with a veto. Its executive board is to comprise 18 seats, 5 of them permanent and going to the US, the UK, Canada, France and Benelux, which together account for some 60 per cent of world trade.

By 1952, the ITO—when approved by member states—will have released world trade from many of its most pernicious fetters. Until that time the Charter calls for a gradual relaxation of restrictions by providing that:

- A country may protect "infant industries" set up between 1940 and March, 1948.
- War-damaged countries, underdeveloped areas, may keep in force tariff and other trade restrictions to hasten short run reconstruction.
- "Soft-currency" nations are given elastic powers to restrict imports from, and exports to, such "hard currency" nations as the US.

Once the ITO begins to function as a going concern, the road will be cleared to reduce tariffs, on an over-all basis, and to extend most favored nation treatment to all members. On the following pages, an article by an outstanding US exporter-importer—Morris S. Rosenthal—introduces the series on the UN and World Business.

A World Trade Expert Lays Down The Economic Law

THE HEAD OF A GREAT EXPORT-IMPORT FIRM
IN SHARP WORDS BLUNTLY TELLS
UNITED STATES BUSINESSMEN
WHAT STEPS TO TAKE TO STABILIZE
PROSPERITY AND PROMOTE FREE ENTERPRISE

BY MORRIS S. ROSENTHAL
Pedagog and private businessman

Morris S. Rosenthal (above) has been for 20 years a special lecturer at Columbia University on foreign trade problems. From 1941 to 1943, he was Assistant Director of the Board of Economic Warfare and director of its Office of Imports. In 1947 he was a member of the American delegation to the 11th Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce at Montreux, Switzerland. Mr. Rosenthal is currently also President of the National Council of American Importers and Vice-Chairman of the Foreign Trade Committee of the US Chamber of Commerce. Finally, but not incidentally, he is President of Stein, Hall and Company—one of the most active US export-import firms, dealers in 25 major commodities from rubber, tea and burlap to vegetable adhesives.

Not less than 54 governments a today trying to make up th minds whether to ratify the terms the Charter for an Internatio Trade Organization as drafted l March in Havana. It is, consequent most important to have the busine men of these 54 nations make their minds.

It is particularly necessary f American businessmen to reach a cision. It is they who, in large me ure, will determine the Charter's fat they must determine whether the U as a pivotal force in today's co merce among nations, is going to treat toward the majestic lunacy the Smoot-Hawley economic exc sion act of 1930 or help to cre world trade conditions suitable f the mid-twentieth century.

The Smoot-Hawley tariff was t American expression of that wor wide economic isolationism which l from "self-sufficiency" to depressi to World War II. At the same tim while avoiding isolationism, we m be careful not to go to the other e treme and engage in economic i perialism. Over the short run, t might pay off in the form of hi monopoly profits, and the piling of cartel assets. Over the long r however, it would inevitably aliena the other members of the world bu ness community. It would breed d contents and civil commotion a even armed strife which would p the props from under world equil rium in production and trade. As consequence, America's own prosp

ity would be damaged to a dangerous extent.

Either course, isolationism or imperialism, threatens to send us down the road to World War III. A growing number of our top-ranking financiers and industrialists and other businessmen, whether or not they happen to be primarily concerned with foreign trade, perceive that neither isolationism nor imperialism can advance the cause of free enterprise, democracy and peace throughout the world.

In arriving at this conclusion, they are actuated both by broad considerations of business statesmanship and a realistic grasp of their own individual stakes in tomorrow's world trade. Fortunately, there is a choice which excludes both isolationism and imperialism—a middle way, a golden mean. Its essence is to apply to world trade the precepts of enlightened free enterprise. It is this approach which I believe has been embodied in the Havana Charter for the International Trade Organization.

While making allowance for current impediments to world trade, the Charter provides for a four-year period, during which the participating nations can gradually revise, adapt, scale down and eventually eliminate the barriers to a genuinely free flow of goods and services on a global scale.

But the importance of the Charter does not necessarily reside in its immediate provisions for achieving this kind of interchange. It is rather to be found in the new emphasis on open trade it imparts and the new atmosphere of mutual interests it fosters. ITO's importance at the moment largely lies in providing both a forum and an international conference table at which nations of the world can discuss and debate and iron out differences and reach working and workable solutions on both individual and collective problems of production and distribution.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR BUSINESS TO GROW UP

Hence, as a practical, reasonably hard-headed businessman who has engaged in the import-export trade for some 30 years, I am dismayed by the way in which the Charter is too often being shredded and shorn to bits in club cars, in trade association sessions and in similar gatherings of American businessmen.

This talk centers almost exclusively around the Charter's alleged defects. A particular company, for example, finds that perhaps it is not going to make quite the profit it could in a dream world where the advantages will be always on its own side. I think it is adolescent for us in the US to assume that we can or could obtain a Charter which will accord to us all the protection we want and which, at the same time, will include all the restrictions on other nations that we also want. I think it is similarly adolescent for us to take the position that we won't play unless we get our heart's desire and 100 per cent plus in every transaction. This is the perfectionism of economic puberty.

It is time that we grew up and realized that, in economic as in human relations, if we want to receive we have to give. Of course, there are things in the Charter which will not assist us to take as much as we would wish and there are also things in it which can provide other nations with any easy out. But personally, after a detailed study of the Charter, I have not found anything that will be of positive harm to us.

THIS ISN'T A CASE OF PLAYING EITHER SANTA CLAUS OR SUCKER

In any event, the American businessman must also consider alternatives to the Charter. If it is not going to become a going concern, what substitute will there be to accomplish its crucial purposes? It has been suggested that the ITO be completely abandoned and that some other agency be formed under UN auspices that would ultimately offer all that even the most sanguine among us could expect.

I doubt that such utopian instrumentalities can ever be fashioned, especially in today's world. Moreover, on the basis of some very candid conversations with delegates from many nations who attended both the Geneva conference in October, 1947, and the Havana meeting in March, 1948, and after talking with many who favor or oppose the Charter, I am convinced that:

(1) The US did not give its collective shirt away.

(2) A charter more acceptable to us could not have been achieved.

(3) If the proposed ITO is given up, no new effective agency to take its place can be started soon enough to avoid the repetition of a new cycle of economic catastrophies.

If the US turns down the Charter, there will probably be no ITO. Furthermore, if the US dawdles in approving this Charter, the display of indifference on the part of one of the two most potent political and economic forces will move other nations toward a corresponding indifference.

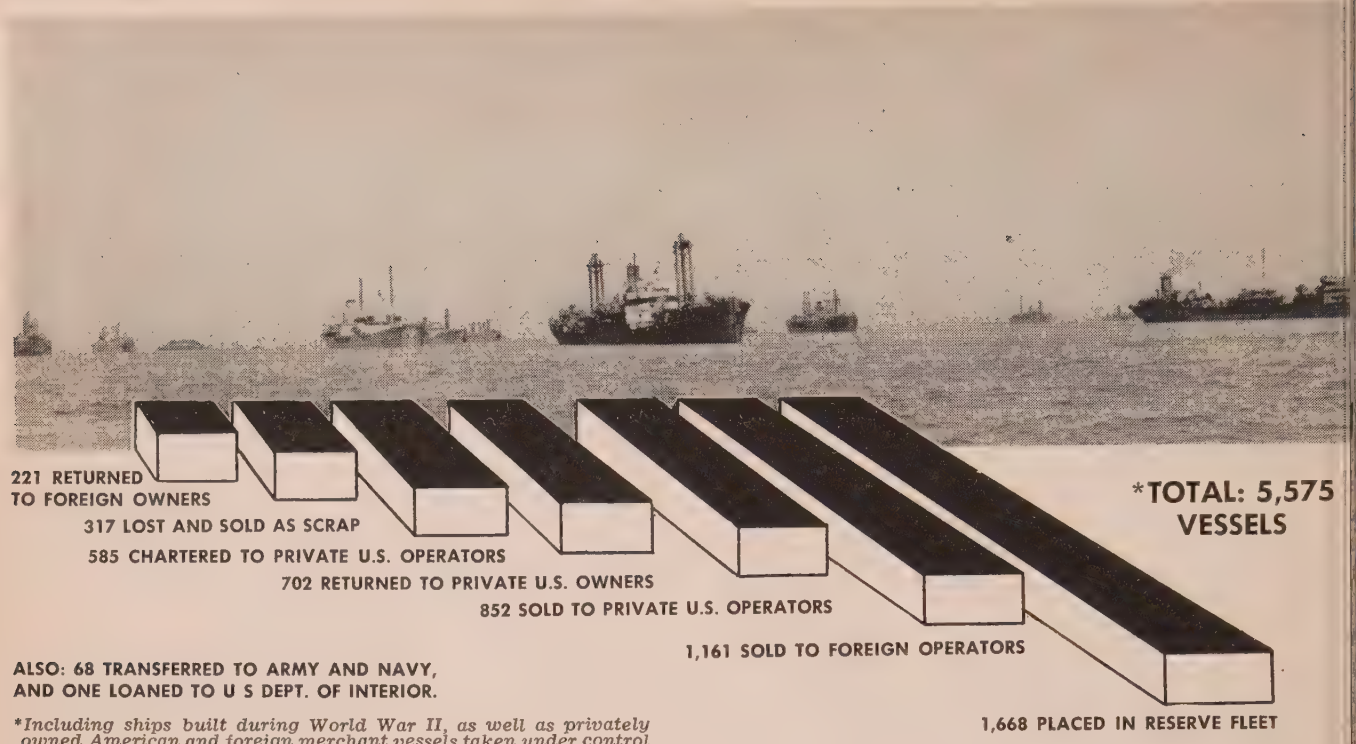
Yet on a common sense basis, it would seem obvious enough that the ITO, because of its very aims, should and can and must be the rallying point for world-wide economic collaboration. The UN cannot succeed if it functions primarily in the political plane, and deals only with fringe economic issues.

Certainly monetary agencies, aviation and maritime conventions, conferences on food and health are all extremely important. But all of them fundamentally revolve around the production, distribution and exchange of commodities among peoples.

Establishment of the ITO is the critical unfinished business in international economic affairs. There is now no agency of the UN, or anywhere else, to deal with these basic concerns of world trade—production, distribution and exchange. The other economic appendages of the UN will be able to work effectively only if they complement and are complemented by an agency such as the ITO. Without the ITO, the tasks of the several economic commissions, the World Bank and Fund, the ECA —even those of the UN itself—may be imperiled.

We should, we must accept the ITO, with its blemishes, as the organization with which we can make at least a concrete and constructive beginning. After the ITO has been set up, difficulties can be ironed out, bugs eliminated, improvements sought in those aspects which now are imperfect compromises. There will be time enough later for mistakes to be corrected. But to reject the ITO now would be the mistake which cannot be corrected. Rejection means another dangerous withdrawal into ourselves, an attempt to revive economic isolationism.

And that must not be done. We have already paid too high and tragic a price for trying.


221 RETURNED TO FOREIGN OWNERS
317 LOST AND SOLD AS SCRAP
585 CHARTERED TO PRIVATE U.S. OPERATORS
702 RETURNED TO PRIVATE U.S. OWNERS
852 SOLD TO PRIVATE U.S. OPERATORS
1,161 SOLD TO FOREIGN OPERATORS
1,668 PLACED IN RESERVE FLEET
*TOTAL: 5,575 VESSELS
ALSO: 68 TRANSFERRED TO ARMY AND NAVY, AND ONE LOANED TO U S DEPT. OF INTERIOR.
*Including ships built during World War II, as well as privately owned American and foreign merchant vessels taken under control of the U.S. Maritime Commission for the duration, plus 252 new vessels completed after V-J Day and 8 acquired as reparations.
SOURCES: U.S. MARITIME COMMISSION
Prepared by Graphic Reports, Washington, D.

CHART—AS OF SEPT. 1, 1948—OF THE FATE OF THE MERCHANT FLEET WITH WHICH THE US ENDED THE WA

The American Merchant Fleet

WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE BOTTOMS—THE LIBERTIES AND VICTORIES
THE SHIPS THAT WERE BUILT BY WOMEN AND CLERKS
AND DOMINATED EVERY SEA—OPEN OR MINED—DURING THE WAR?

BY GEORGE L. KILLION
President of the
American President Lines

SAN FRANCISCO OPERATOR
TELLS WHERE THE SHIPS
HAVE GONE AND, WITH THEM,
THE UNITED STATES'
WARTIME MARITIME SUPREMACY

The author of the accompanying article on the American Merchant Marine is not only youngster—47 years old—and a newcomer to the business, but he is as well one of th most important shipping executives in the United States.

George L. Killion became president of the American President Lines in August, 194 But he began his business career in 1922 as a newspaperman—a youthful waterfront re porter for the old *San Diego Sun*. Thereafter he worked as a reporter, city editor, managin editor and editorial writer on daily newspapers in San Diego, Los Angeles and Sacrament until 1930.

In that year Mr. Killion formed a public relations agency, and five years later th grocery chain, Safeway Stores, engaged him as consultant on public relations, advertisin and business development.

Subsequently, he became Director of Finance for the state of California and, during th war, served as a major in the Army and as Special Assistant to the Petroleum Admini trator for War.

This non-traditional background has helped Killion to earn a reputation as an inn vator in merchant shipping with his fleet of 40 cargo and passenger vessels. In the followin article, he outlines some of the concepts—not all eccentric—he has absorbed in his ne career as a merchant mariner who does his navigating at a business desk.

Paradoxically, the condition of the US merchant marine today violates the old maxim that a surplus of wealth in any form is never a source of trouble. The US has a plethora of bottoms—more than any other nation—but quantity alone does not guarantee long-run effectiveness in serving both the needs of US foreign trade, and the balanced prosperity and expansion of the US economy.

To be sure, US exports over the past 2½ years have been the highest on record. Moreover, the US emerged from World War II with the greatest number of cargo vessels in its history, superseding the formerly undisputed pre-eminence of Britain in this sphere.

At the end of the war, the US possessed 60 million tons of merchant shipping, or two-thirds of the world total as compared with one-sixth in 1939.

Nevertheless, in terms of the world's shipping fleets, the US position in 1948 is one of declining supremacy.

All the other leading maritime nations—Britain, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Netherlands and Greece—together with many comparative newcomers to large scale international shipping like Uruguay, Colombia, Argentina, and Brazil, have moved ahead at a very rapid rate since V-J Day. Foreign yards have been busy with new construction at peak volume since the end of the war while American shipyards have been virtually idle. Furthermore, more than twice as many American war-built vessels were sold abroad than to American flag operators—though it is true that the vessels purchased by foreign firms or governments were chiefly the less desirable Liberty type.

The active American Merchant Marine as of July 1, 1948, consisted of a grand total of 1801 dry cargo ships. Although this figure is sizable when compared with our pre-war fleet of 2,092 vessels, it is important to keep in mind that out of today's total of 1801 ships, 660 are chartered from the US Maritime Commission, leaving only 1139 owned by individual operators. This would seem to reflect a serious lack of faith on the part of various American merchant marine organizations in the future of a substantial American cargo fleet.

On the other hand, foreign merchant marines have continued their growth up to a point where, even now, most of the major maritime powers have more vessels in operation, in terms of gross tonnage, than they had in 1939. Moreover, foreign operators are supplementing their war-built tonnage with vessels newly designed from hull to hold for special-cargo purposes. At the same time new construction, either under way or on order, for American operators has remained virtually at a standstill during the last three years.

Both at home and abroad there is a good deal of adverse criticism leveled against America's war-built vessels. Our Liberty type is reported to be too slow and generally in bad physical condition, a natural enough result of wartime's tremendous wear and tear. Our Victory type ships are accused of having been poorly blueprinted in terms of location of machinery and cargo space. It is further contended that most of the Liberty and Victory ships cannot be converted or adapted to the special needs of special runs.

Many of these charges are true. However, any attempt to appraise realistically the commercial future of the US Merchant Marine must first take into account the competitive rules which today determine which ships get the cargoes.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKING IN BUSINESS

There was a time when good service at a reasonable rate represented practically the only reason for choosing a ship for a particular cargo. Today, however, other factors are major and controlling. They center around the political and economic backing that operators may obtain from their respective governments. The policy of fostering merchant marine development is spreading among many foreign governments which require that government-sponsored cargoes move only on vessels flying the national flag.

Such practices are becoming particularly prevalent among the Latin American countries as well as among the Dutch, the Belgians, Danes and other smaller nations eager to build up substantial merchant marines which in general are state controlled when they are not state owned. Since the dollar shortage in practically all the chief maritime nations is still acute, governments use the currency club to force importers and exporters to give top priority to their own flag ships and second place to those of soft currency countries. Under regulations of this kind, American flag vessels operating on a dollar basis are of necessity frequently the last choice.

Many of the current vexations surrounding the American Merchant Marine arise from the cost of labor. Indeed, American maritime labor has almost priced itself out of the world competitive market. And herein lies a basic reason why, despite the availability of an imposing volume of shipping tonnage in the United States, an American Merchant Marine has no assured future. American cargo vessels cost a minimum of $500 a day more to operate than the same type flying a foreign flag. To date, no American company has been able to develop offsets to compensate for this difference in overhead.

There are three main ways by which the US can rectify this imbalance: (1) to subsidize completely an American Merchant Marine, and thus eliminate the element of profit and loss; (2) to encourage American labor to contribute every effort in mechanizing and otherwise improving the efficiency on US vessels, already superior to most; (3) to have American labor, management and government representatives within the International Labor Organization (ILO) press resolutely for a gradual revision of wage scales upward towards the American level, thus easing the competitive position of the American Merchant Marine.

A combination of these three moves may do the job. But the uncertainty of any such outcome has a braking effect on the willingness of the investing public to supply a steady flow of replacement and expansion capital for American shipping enterprises.

AMERICA IS WEAK ALSO IN PASSENGER SHIPS

The postwar period, with its resumption of travel, dramatized the American Merchant Marine's long-standing deficiency in passenger liners. In this area, more than in any other sectors

American Fleet *continued*

of the entire merchant shipping industry, risks are extremely great from the standpoint of the potential investor. For in view of their comparatively higher overhead costs, these larger vessels cannot begin to break even when operating under American registry. Yet, whatever the reluctance of the private investor, the farsighted statesman mindful of the potential requirements of national defense cannot permit purely business considerations to influence his judgment and decisions.

There is no doubt that the current status of our passenger fleet is deplorable. The United States has only 11 ships capable of carrying more than 500 passengers each—and our total passenger fleet numbers only 42 vessels. Fortunately the Maritime Commission displays an ever-growing awareness of this situation.

On the basis of the current outlook, it would appear, that the US will eventually have a fleet of passenger ships at least approximating adequacy in terms of national defense requirements. As a matter of national policy, it would be safer for the US not to rely, as it did in World War II, upon Britain's mighty fleet of superliners, along with the passenger vessels of other potential US Allies, which carried a substantial portion of the load from 1941 through 1945.

NEW CONSTRUCTION IS BEGINNING

Meantime two American flag operators recently have agreed to undertake the construction of urgently needed passenger liners. There are encouraging signs that still others may follow suit if arrangements can be made with the Maritime Commission and Navy Department to underwrite a workable percentage of construction costs.

For its part the shipbuilding industry in the US faces almost the same dilemma that confronts ship operators as the construction figures on world shipbuilding amply attest. The total tonnage under construction in the world, as of last July, amounted to 3,940,000 tons. Of this, the US share represented barely 200,000 t or 5 per cent, while the other sh building centers of the world, nota Britain, Holland and Italy, were pu ing ahead practically at capacity.

Moreover, when the war's e caused decline of US shipbuild activity, many skilled shipyard wo ers—caulkers, machinists, rivet and welders—were dispersed. At same time, shipbuilding facili grew obsolete for lack of suffici replacement, maintenance and repa This situation is a primary source concern to US defense authorities well as to the industry itself.

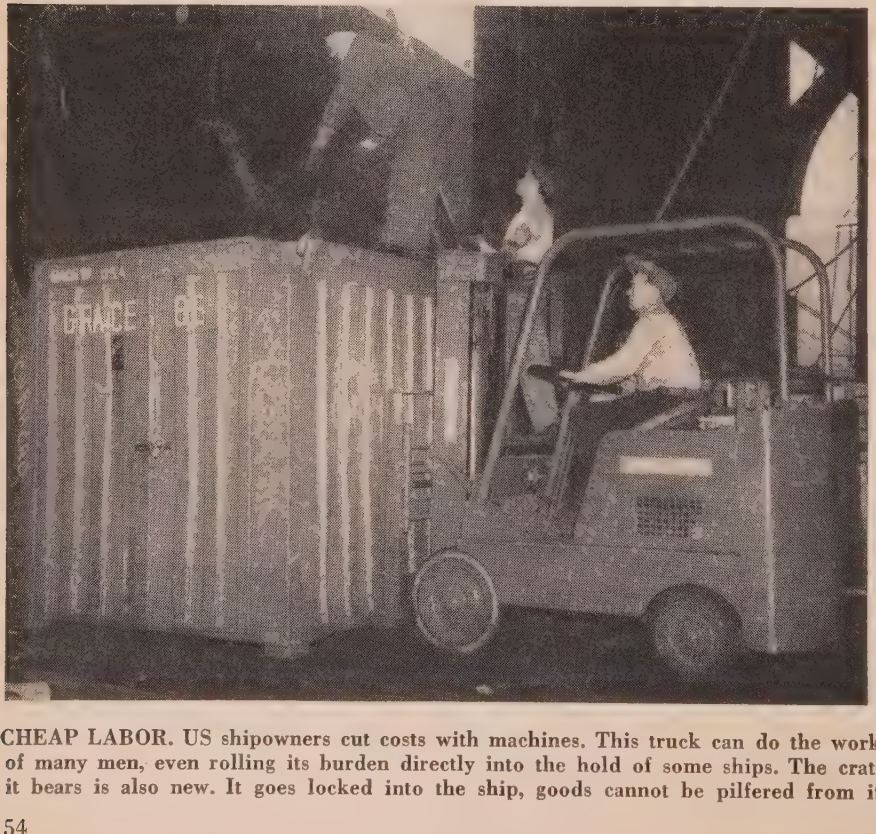
SHIPBUILDING IS EVERYBODY'S PROBLEM

Once more, a large part of problem centers around labor. S ply because ships built in Ameri yards must compete for busin against vessels constructed abroad a fraction of the cost, is no reason expect US shipyard labor to w for substandard wages. Yet the w scales which are reflected in ev piece of equipment which goes i an American built ship, as well into its operation, are rapidly m ing it impossible for US shipbuild to hold their own, let alone stay in front in this field. There is o one way to remove this handic adequate subsidy for the US sh building industry to enable it to of the disparity.

Everyone has a vital stake in so ing this problem. The shipbuild the ship operators, and labor as w as the public in general. With question, the US Congress has a v special responsibility. It cannot to develop a comprehensive ship c struction program that will keep shipyards technologically efficient well as to keep the merchant f itself up to date. Only a co-ordi approach of this kind can make merchant marine a vital link in chain of national defense and ena it to carry its legitimate share of high volume of American exports imports.

An adequate merchant mar equipped to handle the many di ent varieties of sea commerce, as v as passengers, is indispensable t well balanced, well integrated, v sinewed national economy in the r 20th century.

INSTEAD OF STEVEDORES



CHEAP LABOR. US shipowners cut costs with machines. This truck can do the work of many men, even rolling its burden directly into the hold of some ships. The crate it bears is also new. It goes locked into the ship, goods cannot be pilfered from it.

World Files THE ECONOMIC RECORD

ARGENTINE-URUGUAYAN PACT
eptember 1, Buenos Aires. Trade payments be made exclusively in national currency each country. (242:48)

WISS-ARGENTINE PROTOCOL
eptember 4, Berne. Swiss National Bank grant Argentina special facilities. Ar-entina not to discriminate against Swiss oods entering Argentina. (243:48)

NGLO-DUTCH MONETARY PACT
eptember 8, London. Renewal of pact of eptember 7, 1945, for one year protects ritish sterling held by Dutch. Amount ad-isted to cover wartime debt settlement. 244:48)

WEDISH-ITALIAN AGREEMENT
eptember 11, Stockholm. Sweden to send taly 11,000 tons of grain to be paid for in ollars. (245:48)

ZECH-DUTCH TEXTILE PACT
eptember 15, Prague. Holland to send zechoslovakia 485,000 guilders or 8,000,000 zech crowns worth of rejected textile roducts. Holland to receive finished tex-les in same amount. (246:48)

ZECHS TO REPAY LEND-LEASE
eptember 16, Washington. Czechoslovakia grees to make final payment of $172,061 settlement of $2,760,000 lend-lease ac-ount. (247:48)

USTRIANS AGREE ON AGE-PRICE PACT
eptember 16, Vienna. Wage-price agree-ent achieved between Austria's coalition overnment and trade unions. (248:48)

NGLAND REDUCES CONSUMERS GOODS
eptember 21, London. Ministry of Supply nnounces further cuts in consumer goods increase arms production. (249:48)

TALIAN-TRIESTE CONOMIC ACCORD
eptember 22, Trieste. Integrates agree-ents of March 9, 1948. Clarifies questions n industrial construction, equipment of ipyards and naval construction. Also sets p procedure for consultation between two overnments regarding ERP plans. (250:48)

POLAND-USSR ZONE TRADE PACT
eptember 25, Leipzig. Mutual exchange of oods amounting to $36,000,000 more than ipulated in agreement signed March 15, ringing total to approximately $96,000,000 is year. From Poland anthracite coal, oke and other goods; from the Soviet one, potash, timber, chemicals and prod-cts of machine-construction. (251:48)

RANCO-TURKISH PACT
eptember 26, Ankara. Provides for means payment for Turkish tobacco and for rench goods shipped to Turkey. (252:48)

SWISS-EGYPTIAN TRADE AGREEMENT
September 27, Cairo. Four-month pact provides for Egypt to send cotton to Switzerland and Swiss to provide necessary equipment for electrification of Aswan Dam. Balances due Egypt will be paid in Swiss francs. (253:48)

TRI-NATION TRADE AGREEMENT
September 27, Brussels. Extension of favorable system of trade among Belgium, Switzerland and Luxembourg. (254:48)

SWISS-CZECH TRADE AGREEMENT
September 27, Prague. Provides for exchange of goods and payments. (255:48)

CZECH-ARGENTINE TRADE AGREEMENT
September 28, Prague. Substantial increase of trade between the two countries, involving a mutual credit up to the value of 5,000,000 crowns. (256:48)

PORTUGAL TO SUPPORT ERP
September 29, Washington. US State Department announces bilateral agreement signed in Lisbon in which Portugal pledges full support of ERP. (257:48)

US-BRITAIN TO STANDARDIZE NUTS AND BOLTS
September 30, Washington. England and the US agree to standardize threads on nuts and bolds. (258:48)

EGYPT BANS IMPORTS OF US AUTOMOBILES
September 30, Cairo. Cancels all measures re: import of car from US in order to conserve dollars. (259:48)

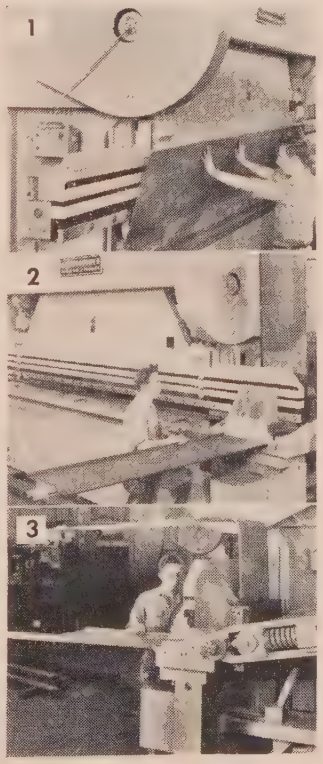
FINNISH-YUGOSLAV TRADE AGREEMENT
October 1, Belgrade. In force until September, 1949, provides for increased delivery of essential raw materials and industrial products by both countries. (260:48)

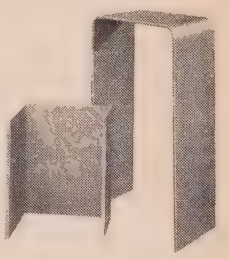
BRITISH SIGN COMPROMISE ACCORD ON ERP
October 5, Paris. Provides for means of payment to preserve the sterling balance while allowing ECA to determine payments to debtors by Britain. (261:48)

CZECH-DUTCH AGREEMENT
October 6, Prague. Czechoslovakia to import 240 tons of butter, quantities of herring in exchange for cement, textiles and machines. (262:48)

Hold Your Foreign Markets

with low cost packaged machinery units





Alert manufacturers of refrigerators, ranges, heaters, etc., can now hold their foreign markets and greatly reduce necessary dollar exchange by setting up small plants in foreign countries to form metal cabinets, using BATH Press Brakes with tangent bending attachments.

Under this plan, U. S. factories supply motors, compressors, etc., and assembly is completed in the country where the cabinets are formed with this low cost equipment.

Photos show (1) flanging sides of flat sheet, (2) bending first top corner, (3) bending second corner.

Write for complete details.

The **CYRIL BATH** *Company*

7016 MACHINERY AVENUE • CLEVELAND 3, OHIO, U.S.A.

UN DIARY

BY JEANNE WASHABAUGH

Report From the Palais

A ROUNDUP OF WHAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS DONE AND WHAT IT HAS NOT DONE—DURING THE FIRST WEEKS OF THE CRUCIAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PARIS—It takes a crew of 4000 to man one large-size aircraft carrier. In Paris a crew of 1000 mans the biggest machine of peace—the United Nations General Assembly.

There, from the flag-backed rostrum in the vast red-and-gold theater of the Palais de Chaillot, diplomats from half a hundred countries shoot off their elecutionary big guns in a full-dress, general debate. But the Assembly's real work for peace goes on in its six main committees. To cope with the monumental 70-problem agenda, each question has been parcelled out by the General (Steering) Committee to one of the standing committees. Here a question is talked over by representatives from the 58 nations, a resolution drafted and sent back to the Assembly itself. If approved by a majority of the 58 UN members, the resolution becomes a recommendation of the Assembly. Unlike Security Council orders, enforcement of Assembly resolutions depends on voluntary action by the member nations, on their desire to make the UN work.

Each committee's agenda includes at least one and usually more items on which the East and West are divided. Often there are deep, basic differences inherited from the Security Council (the atom question is an example) and from the Economic and Social Council (the wording of an International Declaration of Human Rights). To resolve these disagreements and find compromises is the Assembly's big job in 1948. It calls for the highest statesmanship, the shedding of nationalistic (or regional) prejudices.

MRS. ROOSEVELT, always a celebrity, is scarcely more of a marvel in Paris than IBM's simultaneous translation devices.

To the degree that the Assembly succeeds, the United Nations will continue to merit faith of the world's peoples; and that faith will make the UN ever stronger, better able to solve the world's problems.

Key Assembly committee is the First—Political and Security. Here the UN's most incendiary questions have been docketed, beginning with the atom bomb. Spectators scramble for tickets to its meetings, drawn by the promise of fiery words or the presence of "spotlight" delegates like Marshall, Vyshinsky and Bevin.

Next to the presidency, second most important Assembly job is the chairmanship of Committee I. It went to Paul Henri Spaak, Belgium's Churchillian-cherubic prime minister, wh in plenary session, made the fi blunt explanation to Russia of We ern motives. Western policy is bas on fear, he told the Soviets—"fear you, gentlemen" (see State of t World).

The Committee's first session came almost anarchic when the sim taneous interpretation system fai and delegates squabbled over wh "first things" should come first on loaded agenda. Last-minute compli tion was Andrei Vyshinsky's propo that the Big Five cut their arms one third.

It came two months after the U Atomic Energy and Conventional maments Commissions had ab doned, in the face of East-West d agreement, their efforts either control atom bomb production or d armament. Russia, Poland a Ukraine wanted Mr. Vyshinsky's pl considered ahead of the Atomic E ergy Commission reports. But th were rebuffed and Committee I s tled down to study the atom deadlo A hint of possible success came wh Mr. Vyshinsky proposed that A write two atom conventions (to signed simultaneously) outlawi atomic weapons and establishi some kind of UN control—but und the Security Council (and con quently under the veto).

These two questions could keep t Committee busy until Christmas. E before that time, it must also ha made up its mind about Palesti Here, hotel-room diplomacy a horse-trading tactics will be employ in an effort to modify the Bernado plan (see State of the World).

Other major problems before Committee I are the Italian colonies, the Greek civil war and Korea. Another is the US-fathered, Soviet-espoused veto. The Little Assembly (Soviet-boycotted) has submitted a mild, voluntary plan for modifying veto use. Support for Charter revision to write out the unanimity rule completely, as proposed by Argentina, has been lukewarm, even among delegations who cannot employ it.

Hernan Santa Cruz (Chile) holds the gavel in the Economic and Financial Committee (II). It will consider two Polish charges that trade discriminations are being practiced by "certain states" and that food is being wasted by "certain states." It goes without further warning that the accused "certain states" include the US. This Committee is also studying part of the 1948 Report of the Economic and Social Council.

Human rights and Mrs. Roosevelt have almost unbeatable gallery appeal. In consequence Committee III (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) is, next to Committee I, the public's favorite. It started off with the study of the draft International Declaration of Human Rights, which is Part One in a UN attempt to establish, by law, an international Bill of Rights.

The Committee members are also expected to produce feasible suggestions for the care and future of the world's refugees and displaced persons. At Poland's request, they will investigate alleged discriminations against immigrant labor, particularly among workers recruited from DP camps. Chairman of Committee III is Charles Malik, of Lebanon, president of the Economic and Social Council.

The Fourth — Trusteeship — Committee is headed by Nasrellah Entezam of Iran. In addition to the Trusteeship council's annual report, the Committee will for the third time hear the Union of South Africa defend its failure to place South West Africa, former League of Nations mandated territory, under a UN trusteeship.

A Canadian, Dana Wilgress, heads Committee V—(Budget). Its 58 members sit in the Museum. High over them on the wall is fixed a magnificent portal from a medieval cathedral. Their task is to weigh each UN expenditure, their propensity is to wield the axe freely. Though No. V's meetings seldom make headlines, UN personnel (whose jobs may be cut from under them) watch each subtraction closely. The fate of every UN commission, mission and activity depends on Committee V.

Major job now being tackled by the Sixth — (Legal) — Committee is genocide. A draft convention which, if ratified, would legally prohibit mass destruction of peoples for reasons of race, religion, politics or economic status has been forward by ECOSOC. Committee VI will look into Chile's charge that the USSR, by refusing to permit a Russian wife to accompany her Chilean husband to Santiago, violates the wife's human rights and traditional diplomatic practices. Says Russia, it is a purely national matter. In plenary session, USSR's Jacob Malik offered the further defense that Russian women married to foreign husbands must be protected against outside prejudice. Committee chairman is Ricardo Alfare, of Panama.

THE PEARLS THAT FALL ARE CAREFULLY GATHERED UP

Every word spoken in any committee is recorded. Platoons of stenographers and translators, and water carafes, are at hand for each meeting. Each committee also has a secretary from the Secretariat, usually an expert in the particular field and familiar with the background of the problem under discussion. Secretary for the First Committee is D. Protitch; for the Second, David Weintraub; Third, Stephane Hessel; Fourth, William Benson; Fifth, Yuen-Li Liang and Sixth, A. Leriche.

Press coverage of the Assembly has been excellent. There are almost 1,600 press and radio correspondents accredited to the Palais—which is almost twice as many as at Lake Success (900). They come from 60 different countries. The long-windowed press room, overlooking the Seine and Eiffel Tower, is an aesthetic improvement over Lake Success but it is also a more polyglot bedlam.

Correspondents are briefed by Press Chief Wilder Foote twice daily and reports of meetings are rushed from the conference chambers to mimeograph machines and to the distribution desk in the form of bi-lingual press releases almost before the delegates have summoned their cars (which, incidentally, is done by means of a frog-voiced dispatcher whose "Allo! Allo!" echoes for many blocks through the surrounding quiet, fashionable residential section.

Public attendance at the opening session was large but it has dropped off except when special matters (like the atom) are scheduled. Big fly in the ointment is the lack of seating space. Committee rooms are overcrowded; even delegates sit in a sort of double-decker circle. There are only 75 seats for the public and 75 for correspondents at any meeting.

Priority for press seats goes to representatives of major wire services and metropolitan newspapers and after that, first come, first served. "It isn't our fault we can't give tickets to everyone that wants them," moans Mary Ronay, Czarina of press accreditation. She spends hectic days explaining in three languages—Hungarian as well as French and English —"There are no more tickets for committees today, sorry."

Whether it was Paris' glamor or the historical importance of the Third General Assembly one thing is certain: more clubs, labor unions and professional associations (in UN parlance "Non-Governmental Organizations") than ever before have sent observers here. More than 100 came from the United States alone.

Among them are such opinion-molders as Clark Eichelberger, representing the American Association for the United Nations; Howard Wilson from the Carnegie Endowment; Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Charles Bolte of the American Veterans Committee. Most observers take their mission seriously and early each morning, collect copies of the previous day's speeches at the NGO Headquarters off the main lounge, then march off to attend another meeting.

This Assembly got off to a slow, dull-wordy start. The number of platitudes per capita caused cynical comment, but President Herbert Evatt—a salty, "no-nonsense" Australian—is expected to keep long-winded plenary debates to a minimum. Optimists remember that last year's Assembly also worked at a dull and plodding pace until, in a final whirlwind spurt, it achieved at least a partial solution of what was then the world's No. 1 problem—Palestine.

Jailbird of the UN

WARTIME DAREDEVIL, 7 TIMES 'KILLED'

STEPHANE HESSEL IS A BUREAUCRAT NOW

BY EVELYN G. KESSEL

THE Secretariat of the United Nations is largely composed of law-abiding persons, so it is quite safe to assume that Stephane Hessel has been in and out of more prisons than any of his colleagues. Hessel belies his record. A young French intellectual he does not resemble a hardened jailbird. Of poised yet buoyant manner, he has thoughtful eyes in a young-old face. He laughs boyishly and often.

But whatever else he might have retained of boyhood into his thirtieth year has been lost—perhaps in the prisons from which he escaped.

As Executive Officer of the Department of Social Affairs under Henri Laugier, Assistant Secretary General, he is the link between a department of 159 persons and the administration. If someone needs a staff-member, or chucks one, a new chief of section, more money, a new desk—whoever needs anything comes to him.

Currently, in Paris, he is also secretary to the Third Committee (see page 57)—virtually a full-time job in itself. Nevertheless he still finds time to renew acquaintances in Paris.

The administration of an international staff is never depressingly routine. "At 9 a.m. I hear the problem of a Chinese, at 10 I explain it to a Chilean, then in succession, must persuade a Peruvian and a Syrian of its importance."

Hessel has a natural jubilance and he tells us his personal story in lively, fluent English.

His parents were writers, but if you write your life gets unbalanced, he says. So he chose for a vocation the more stable metier of teaching. But in 1939 the student closed his books with a bang to become a lieutenant of infantry. He was captured and imprisoned in the Vosges —but nobody seems able to keep Hessel in jail.

That first time he crawled away from his guard through scrub, hid in high grass on the banks of the Meuse until nightfall. Back in Paris he found waiting the Russian girl he had recently married.

With the help of his father-in-law, he obtained an English visa, slipped out of France through North Africa, crossed to England and joined the Free French Secret Service. He spent two crowded years organizing secret radio networks from London.

Then Stephane's adventures gathered momentum. As he recounted them, his gift of resilient gaiety belied their grimness. He was sent back to France in the early spring of '44, landing in a small plane—a Lysander—by full moon.

The radio operator whom he was to meet had been arrested and tortured into betraying him. Stephane was met by understanding Gestapo men instead. "Three weeks they interrogated me at headquarters," he said. "Oh yes, the usual, inventive forms of torture." He was finally sentenced to be shot, but the Normandy landing had already taken place and, in the German rush to evacuate Paris, Stephane with 36 others was forwarded from the Paris jail to Buchenwald, with a stop-off at the Saarbrucken prison camp. "Quite awful," he says blithely.

The 37 co-travelers, of whom only six finally survived, became friends. Two weeks after arrival in Buchenwald, 16 were hanged; the rest realized they too were doomed. At that time prisoners were parked in Buchenwald before assignment to underground working camps. "Forced labor in purest expression," Stephane explained. "The Germans had a macabre economy, and death generally came only after the maximum in work had been extracted."

Meanwhile, those of the group still alive were herded together awaiting orders—with nothing to do and plenty of time to plan an escape. Finding accomplices was the difficulty. "Bribery—and friendship, too, even in this place of death—did the trick. The only way was to change identities. Our main saviour, an Austrian camp official, managed it. Early one morning we were dragged into a typhus block. As soon as three prisoners of similar appearance died their bodies were sent to the crematory with our names.

Skulking around in the dead men's clothes, Stephane and his two friends were finally sent under SS police to an underground airplane factory. Despite guards, the slippery Stephane again escaped. But he was recaptured five hours later and brought to the disciplinary prison camp of Dora.

After three months this camp was evacuated; the Allies were getting near. The guards shipped off their prisoners, 100 to a railway wagon. Under air attack, the train stopped and Hessel slipped through a hole in the bottom of the car. The others heard a shot and wrote his wife (who had already had six versions of his death) that he was killed.

But he walked all night, and at daybreak some Polish laborers helped him change from prison garb into ragged pants and a shirt with one sleeve. . . . After five days he arrived in Hanover as the American Army approached. "I crossed the lines and the Fifth Armored Division took me—I was a scarecrow—with some misgiving into their reconnaissance unit." He spent three weeks fighting with them up to the Elbe; also feasting on Spam and chocolate.

Again he was recaptured by the Germans. The SS commander thought him American; put nine men in charge of him. But with talk of good food and cigarets and other inducements, Stephane persuaded them to surrender to him. Later he picked up five more converts and, with 14 prisoners paraded through the Fifth Armored lines. "They shouted when they saw me—had given me up!"

Finally the American Army sent him back to Paris by plane on VE Day. "My wife met me. And did we celebrate!"

On October 24

The World Observes

International Interdependence Day

SOLEMN CEREMONIES

AND SERMONS

LECTURES

AND DOCUMENTARY FILMS

COMMEMORATE THE DAY

THAT WILL LIVE—

IF THE WORLD DOES—UN DAY

BY MORRIS WEEKS, JR.

It was a day in history. For the first time ever, the peoples of virtually the entire world could celebrate as one. For the first time, 58 nations on six continents could join to mark, simultaneously, a single day —United Nations Day.

The date was October 24, third anniversary of the date the UN Charter went into effect. The Charter had not solved all the world's ills: war, poverty, disease, hunger, injustice still flourished in far too many places. Yet a beginning had been made at conquering these age-old enemies (see pages 31-34). So, though millions of the world's people might question UN, far more millions placed their highest hopes in it —and celebrated its origin.

Designation of the day itself was made a year ago by the Second General Assembly.

June 26 had originally been commemorated as the anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter. But not until October 24, 1945, had a majority of the signatory nations deposited their ratifications with the US Department of State, after which Secretary of State Byrnes had signed the Protocol attesting that the Charter was in force.

Once the General Assembly set the date, the member nations took the responsibility for their individual programs. In America, President Truman issued a proclamation. In Britain, His Majesty's Government took official cognizance. So did those of France, the USSR, China—of countries from Norway to Australia.

Nongovernmental bodies swung into line. Civic, educational, religious, business, labor and many other groups took up the cause. The people's representatives had chosen October 24, but the people themselves needed to be reminded of it, what it meant, the part they could play in it.

How well these efforts succeeded began to appear October 17, the first day of UN Week. The week progressed to its climax on UN Day. And that day, in one fashion or another, the peoples of 58 countries celebrated what may become their most historic milestone.

The US is UN's working home. It is also a nation of idealists, and is given to observance of "days." Americans—if not all America—went all-out for UN Day.

There were articles, newspapers, pictures and text in magazines, transcribed UN programs on the radio, films in schools and clubs, pamphlets and other material displayed in schools and libraries.

America also had, in addition to the UN itself, the inspiration of the National Citizens' Committee for United Nations Day, appointed by Secretary of State Marshall. From its Washington headquarters the Committee carried on an extensive program. Besides inspiring the President's Proclamation, the Committee arranged similar ones by many state governors and formed state committees through which it disseminated detailed information on local observance (right down to suggested topics to speakers), and made repeated, urgent appeals for public participation.

The Committee also functioned on a broad national scale. Through subcommittees headed by outstanding personalities in their fields, it obtained the co-operation of churches and civic organizations; brought UN Day to the attention of press and radio; distributed material for the information media, and so on.

Aiding this good work were no less than 75 other nongovernmental organizations. Chief among them was the American Association for the United Nations, which works on a 365-day-a-year basis to advance UN in American eyes. Together with the National Broadcasting Co. and the National Education Assn., it sponsored United Nations Week. Radio programs, newspaper advertising, a week-long display in New York's Rockefeller Center (and similar displays in other cities), a United Nations Ball, special kits for 5,000 school teachers—these are suggestive of the scope of AAUN's endeavors to make the week and day significant.

Other co-operating groups cannot be fully listed here. They include:

National and international organizations. The Advertising Council, Inc., American Bar Assn., American Council on Education, American Farm Bureau Federation, American Federation of Labor, American Library Assn., American Municipal Assn., American Society for Newspaper Editors, Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Co-operative League, Foreign Policy Assn., Council of State Governments.

Also Kiwanis International, Lions International, Motion Picture Assn. of America, National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, National Assn. of Broadcasters, National Assn. of Manufacturers, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, National Education Assn., National Grange, National Social Welfare Assembly, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

The World Observes *continued*

Women's organizations. American Assn. of University Women, General Federation of Women's Clubs, League of Women Voters of the USA, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

Religious organizations. Nineteen groups (eleven Protestant, four Catholic, four Jewish).

Veterans' organizations. Four national groups.

NOT THAT OTHERS LOVE THE UN LESS—AUSTRIA PROMOTES IT MORE

VIENNA: The people in few countries on the European continent respond more wholly to the ideals of the United Nations than the Austrians. From the man on the farm to the man in Government Councils, the people work, not only on October 24, to promote UN precepts.

Much credit for this interest in the UN goes to the Austrian League of the United Nations, "*Liga der vereinten Nationen.*" Not content with merely propagandizing the UN in leaflets and through newspapers and over the radio, this effective and energetic organization counts in its work-a-day schedule such as this: arrangement of regular social gatherings and meetings with prominent speakers; the running yearly of two essay contests for students; the setting up of striking UN window displays in all cities of Austria. In a special ceremony to celebrate United Nations Day, its members honor with a prized finger ring the man or woman who has done most to advance the United Nations idea.

The General Secretary of the League, Mr. A. Stuchly-Luchs, is proud of the fact that all his organization's activities are financed by private contributions. The League now has 45,000 dues-paying members, among whom are members of the Government and the President of Austria as well as countless laborers and small farmers.

Worthy of special note is the recent action of the Austrian Ministry for Education, which actively supports the work of the League. It has passed a law providing that, in all Austrian schools, one hour every week must be dedicated to the study of United Nations during which teachers must instruct their pupils in the program, problems and aims of the UN.

WHAT THE BRITISH DID TO CELEBRATE

LONDON: In Britain, where the energetic United Nations Association counts 796 branches and 1,596 affiliated bodies, preparations for The Day began months in advance. Arrangements were co-ordinated by a committee which represented the Foreign Office, the UN Association, the International Labor Organization, the Central Office of Information and the London Information Center.

Government co-operated by publishing a 20,000-word pamphlet, *Britain and the United Nations;* by issuing special UN posters, a commemorative stamp and other material.

The UN Association distributed posters, pamphlets, films and the like. Leading churchmen of all faiths issued messages commending UN Day. Magazines ran special articles.

As The Day neared, activity increased. Special meetings of civic groups were addressed by outstanding speakers: Ministers, MPs, distinguished foreign visitors, peers, bishops. Almost every town in Britain blossomed out with UN movies, "flag days," school talks, women's meetings, concerts, dances, street demonstrations, UN exhibitions.

October 24 saw nationwide observance in the press and radio. A special message from Prime Minister Attlee was broadcast. As the day was a Sunday, special services were held in many churches and many cathedrals; the Archbishop of York was among the prominent churchmen taking part. And everywhere in the British Isles, men and women soberly prayed: "Let this first United Nations Day mark the start of a new era of peace for us—and all peoples."

HOW THEY OBSERVED UN DAY IN SWEDEN

GOTHENBURG: In Sweden, United Nations Day celebrations were under the auspices of two official UN organizations, *Mellanfolkligt Samarbete* in Stockholm and its affiliate in Gothenburg, *Vastsvenska FN-foreningen.*

Through *Mellanfolkligt Samarbe*- distribution, Swedes all over t country saw—and heard in their ow language—the UN film, "The Pe ples' Charter," which ran for a wee before and after October 24.

Collective members of the UN a sociations, such as labor unions, c operative movements, business ass ciations, were called on to mark some special manner UN Day.

Schools came in for particul stress, with the necessity pointed u for teachers to explain the working and purpose of the UN to their p pils. Teachers' efforts along this lin were boosted by a government rec ommendation that publishers of hi tory and social science books includ at least one chapter on the Unite Nations in every book. In this re spect, the UN Information Center i Copenhagen has proved invaluabl as a comprehensive and authoritativ material source. The Center als serves the general public with instruc tive recommendations on timely sub jects for discussions and lectures.

Vastsvenska FN-foreningen i Gothenburg put on a UN week cam paign designed to give the city a new look. It aimed at making the UN flag and the names of the specialized agencies familiar to the city's citizens.

One device was a UN buttonhole flag; another was a project whereby all streetcars carried one UN flag and a flag with the initials of a specialized agency. Inside the cars the public found explanations of these initials. All flags were made by children in the public schools.

A leading newspaper arranged a competition among shop keepers for the best window display using the UN theme. On UN Day itself the flag of the United Nations was flown from the city flag pole in front of city hall, and that evening, a mass meeting was held in Gothenburg's biggest auditorium.

So the world's peoples observed their first UN Day, symbolizing the hopes that 58 nations had committed to UN itself. For most people, hope of world peace, though often frustrated, still burned. Chairman Harper Sibley of the National Citizens' Committee knows how to speak for these multitudes. "I believe," he said, "it is precisely because the nations of the world have *not* succeeded in reaching agreement that we need the United Nations more than ever."

UN in Paris

Temporary Home

IN THREE YEARS THE UN
HAS PUT UP IN A GIRLS' COLLEGE
AN EXHIBITION HALL
A WAR FACTORY

NOW IT IS ENSCONCED
IN STILL ANOTHER HALL
WHICH IS CALLED A PALACE
AND IS ACTUALLY A MUSEUM

DURING its first three years, the United Nations has lived in an opera house, a college, an exhibition hall of the New York World's Fair of 1939 and a war factory. Now its Third General Assembly is being held in a museum—a structure originally built to house exhibits in the Paris World's Fair of 1937.

The Palais de Chaillot—unlike the former New York City exhibit hall at Flushing Meadows—is perhaps one of the most beautiful buildings in the world. Its two wings are separated by a terrace in which stand the great bronze statues of women one sees in the newspapers and newsreels. There is no entrance at the front of the Palais but, instead, a long promenade and garden. From the terrace edge one looks down onto the famous oblong fountains which lead down the sloping garden from the Palais to the Seine. At their edges —when the breeze is right, like 58 great gaudy flowers—are the double rows of the member nations' flags. Beyond the fountains and flags on the flat opposite bank of the Seine rises the gaunt grace of the Eiffel Tower and, beyond it, the broad, parklike Champ de Mars.

The great Palais does not surrender its identity. In the press room correspondents are just getting used to the statue of a magnificent satyr embracing a nude nymph which rises above their typewriters. A mural of flat-faced medieval saints and martyrs stares down disapprovingly upon the press bar.

During the first weeks of the Assembly, carpenters, plasterers and painters bearing ladders, trowels and paint brushes, crowded through corridors with briefcase-and-Homburg-bearing diplomats.

Even UN veterans, used to the catacombs of Lake Success, have a hard time finding offices. Bilingual signs, arrows and gendarmes are little help. The place bristles with blue-caped gendarmes. To get inside, everyone must show his UN laissez-passer or a special ticket of admission. Mr. Bevin's limousine is almost always accompanied by a motorcycle escort. Though there is always a small crowd of curious Parisians, leaning on the police barricades by the main entrance to watch the celebrities arrive and hotel rooms are impossible to find.

Certainly, New York was never like this! It wasn't so beautiful, it wasn't so courteous, it wasn't so inexpensive. But nevertheless, the hundred bothersome inefficiencies at the Palais are making many Secretariat and delegation members wish they had stayed at home. Holding this session in Paris has cost the UN $2,000,000 and the French Government $3,000,000. Many think it's not worth it. Lack of reference files and wastebaskets, awful telephone service, French typewriters and similar great and small irritations has made for some low morale among UN employees. But they get generous per diem allowances. The Secretariat dining room serves delicious Gallic meals—wine et al (but no vegetables except potatoes) for about 250 francs —less than 70 cents. Busy delegates eat lunch in one of the two elegant dining rooms in the Palais where a full-course meal costs about 600 francs. UN lesser lights, on whose shoulders the responsibility of the General Assembly does not sit heavily, and the press corps are making a fat season for Parisian night spots. One of the more popular clip joints frequented by Assembly people charges the fantastic (for France) sum of 450 francs for Scotch and soda.

Across the street from the Palais, flower vendors, *glace* carts (French version of Good Humor men) and sidewalk cafes have been doing a rush business since the UN arrived. During the first golden weeks, Secretariat and delegation people sunned themselves at the tables, appreciating the French two-hour lunch habit (an unheard-of luxury in New York), sipping aperitifs and relaxing. Maybe the world political climate inside the Palais looks bad, but for the moment there's Paris and sunshine and October's bright blue weather.

J. W.

VIEW FROM PALAIS DE CHAILLOT

UN Diary *continued*

CALL HIM MISTER, NOT M'SIEU
FOR HE IS AN OHIO YANKEE
WHO BY CHANCE BECAME
UN SPECIALIST IN
PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE
AND IN GETTING THE JOB DONE

The Man

on the Left of the President

WHO makes the Third General Assembly run? The answer is Trygve Lie, Herbert Evatt — and plump, quiet Ohio-born Andrew Wellington Cordier, the man on the left of the President in every Assembly session. By now Cordier is as much a part of UN scenery as his boss, Trygve Lie, the man on the right of the President.

Cordier's formal title is Executive Assistant to the Secretary General and his duties include co-ordination of UN activities and liaison between the SG and the public, the UN's five divisions, the member nations and the 12 specialized agencies. This last year, Cordier has also served as principal secretary to the "Little Assembly" (Interim Committee). Add to all this his current responsibility, the UN General Assembly.

Under normal circumstances, the Assembly meets only three months each year, but its before-and-after duties make being the Power Behind the Assembly a fulltime job. "My chief function is co-ordination," says Mr. Cordier. He is the link between the delegates and the Secretariat, he and his lieutenants furnishing information and advice on all touchy matters including procedure and protocol.

His co-workers regard him as demon parliamentarian. SG Lie onc reputedly said he could cope wit any Assembly—as long as Cordie was on the other side of the chai man.

Months before the Assembl opened in Paris, Mr. Cordier wa busy directing architects and arrang ing for the mass transfer of 600 U personnel and their equipment t Paris. Now, with the Assembly unde way, he still has to keep an eye o the machinery while assisting Presi dent Evatt and Mr. Lie.

Cordier is also the man who meet celebrities, the UN's Grover Whale with less polish but more prestige In quick succession at Lake Success he has welcomed a Republican gov ernor, a descendent of Confucius an Irene Dunne and made each one fee as important as he or she was al ready convinced of being.

From his name, most people thin he is French, and he is now recon ciled to being addressed as M'sie Cordeeay. Actually, in Ohio, hi name has been pronounced for gen erations (four) to rhyme with "fou dee-eer." From his work one woul assume that he has a past as a lawye or business manager. Instead, h came to the UN from school teach ing.

Chunky, greyish, Cordier was born in 1901 in Canton, O. For 17 years he taught history and political sci ence at his alma mater, Manchester College, in Indiana, and lectured in social science at Indiana University. He had earned his PH.D. and a teach ing fellowship at the University of Chicago and studied at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in

THE EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT AND HIS CHIEF, LIE, DUPLICATE ACTION. (CORDIER IS THE LEFT-HANDED ONE.)

Geneva. He spent his summers in Europe and South America, compiling studies on the Sudetenland, Danzig and the Chaco.

In 1944 he joined the US State Department as expert on international security. He went to San Francisco with the US delegation and was adviser to the Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Committee. At the General Assembly's first session in London, he became chief adviser to President Spaak who, in his final speech from the chair, said of him: "I would extend a word of good advice to the future Secretary General and that is never to let Mr. Cordier go. . . ." Between Spaak and Evatt, Cordier has served under two other Presidents, Aranha of Brazil and Arce of Argentina.

Andrew Cordier is "general" of an army of 40 men and women; his right-hand girl is Miss Eleanor Richards, a crisp, tomboyish brunet who, like her boss, has been with UN since it started at San Francisco and has been handling efficiently since then his stacks of correspondence. Late each afternoon Cordier and six aids, the secretaries of the Assembly committees, sit down in a staff meeting, plan tomorrow's schedule and iron out any wrinkles which may have been caused by the friction of the day.

He is disappointed that public attendance at the Paris plenary sessions has not been so good as at Flushing Meadow. "We have 300 public tickets for each plenary session, but they have rarely been used up." Aside from numbers, he says it's too early to notice any great difference between the attitudes of New York and Parisian UN audiences. He swears he hasn't even marked any physical dissimilarity—in chic, pulchritude, and so on.

Mr. Cordier expects the Third Assembly to last until about December 10. He hopes he'll be home in time to spend Christmas in Great Neck, Long Island, with his wife and two children.

Despite his family-man status, Cordier does not lead a 9 to 5 sort of life. Frequent luncheons and dinners are part of his job. Often they are his best opportunity for conferences or for the necessary task of smoothing the feathers of a ruffled delegate. He lunches regularly with the eight Assistant Secretaries General, Messrs. A. A. Sobolev, David Owen, Henri Laugier, Victor Hoo, Benjamin Cohen, Ivan Kerno, Adrian Pelt and Byron Price. Usual meal-time companions are Mr. Sobolev, a Russian, and American Byron Price.

Crises within the UN—and in the world in general—do not unduly disturb Mr. Cordier's serenity. He has a deep faith in the United Nations and takes a long-range view of life which prevents his worrying up an ulcer over every exchange of hot words in the cold war.

For many months now people have been wondering whether Mr. Cordier keeps a diary. If he does, it is something any publisher would grab with eagerness. Because, if any one man can tell the inside story of the United Nations, it is Andrew Wellington Cordier of Ohio. J. W.

RIGHTS OF MAN

Yearbook on Human Rights for 1946 Prepared by the Human Rights Division of the Department of Social Affairs, UN Secretariat. Lake Success, $5.00.

This imposing volume could be called the mirror of humanity's conscience. It records the state of human rights in 73 different countries at the end of 1946.

The book has grown out of the labors of the Economic and Social Council of the UN, namely, its Commission of Human Rights which is entrusted with the task of submitting to the General Assembly a draft for a Declaration of Human Rights to be applied universally. It was published under the editorial supervision of Prof. B. Mirkin-Guetzévitch.

The Yearbook contains the texts of all the Bills of Rights and other constitutional provisions in effect at the end of 1946. It also contains the most important ordinary laws relating to human rights promulgated during that year. The situation in the countries without a written constitution or general provisions is presented through expositions prepared by eminent authorities. In collecting that authoritative material in one volume for the first time, Assistant Secretary Henri Laugier's Department of Social Affairs has done a commendable pioneering job.

The various local approaches to the problem of human rights from Afghanistan to Yugoslavia and from Albania to Vatican City offer a fascinating and illuminating reading. It is perhaps regrettable that the obligation of complete neutrality and impartiality made it impossible for the editors to include an analysis of their material.

In this carefully prepared work there is one detail which may puzzle the reader. The title of the document relating to Spain is not "Constitution," "Basic Laws," or "Human Rights," as the case is with every other country in the book. The title of the only document representing Spain reads "Penal Code." T. K.

25%
Reduction
IN TOUR FARES
For Americans Visiting
The BRITISH ISLES

When planning your British Isles holiday, make a list of all the places you want to see in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Your Travel Agent will be glad to help you prepare your complete individual itinerary. That way you'll effect substantial savings on planned tour tickets offered by British Railways.

See More in Britain!

Naturally, you'll visit our great cities, our world-famous historic and scenic shrines (all within a day's train trip from London) . . . but with more time you can enjoy so many equally memorable travel experiences in our less-publicized byways. So plan to stay longer—discover for yourself the charm of our villages, countryside and rugged coastline.

Travel means BRITISH RAILWAYS

TRAINS . . .
Swift, comfortable transportation to every corner of the British Isles;

HOTELS . . .
45 hotels associated with British Railways, strategically situated for your tour or business trip;

CROSS-CHANNEL FACILITIES . . .
Railway-operated steamer services over a wide variety of routes to Ireland and the Continent.

Depend on the all-inclusive travel services of British Railways for every phase of your tour of the British Isles. We suggest you secure your rail transportation, as well as Pullman, cross-channel steamer and hotel reservations before you leave.

British Railways—official agents for air tickets on British European Air Corporation routes in the British Isles.

Write for British Railways new and amusing booklet, "WHAT, NO ICE?"—written especially for Americans planning to visit us; as well as the full-color map folder, "THE BRITISH ISLES"—both free upon request to Dept. 35 at any of the offices shown below.

For tickets, reservations and authoritative travel information on the British Isles

CONSULT YOUR LOCAL TRAVEL AGENT
or any British Railways office:

NEW YORK 20, N. Y., 9 Rockefeller Pl.
CHICAGO 3, ILL., 39 So. LaSalle St.
LOS ANGELES 14, CAL., 510 W. 6th St.
TORONTO, ONT., 69 Yonge Street

BRITISH RAILWAYS

AN EDITORIAL—BY LOUIS DOLIVET
International Editor

Armed Stalemate

DEWEY'S UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT—THE USSR'S REFUSAL TO WITHDRAW BOTH STRENGTHEN THE UN AND POINT THE WAY TO AVOID WAR

A THOUSAND times the young United Nations have variously been declared "politically impotent" . . . "on the eve of a breakup" . . . "confronted with the withdrawal of the whole Soviet bloc" . . . or, quite simply, "dead."

Yet today the UN, just beginning its fourth year of existence, is more alive and vital than ever. Possibly the greatest merit of this present Third General Assembly will have been to show clearly that the UN has become the bar of history before which all governments, big or small, must appear and justify their actions.

The last doubts as to the future of the international organization disappeared when Governor Dewey, in a series of important statements on foreign policy, put unlimited support of the UN at the top of his program. This pledge made a profound impression not only on Western Europe but also on the Soviet bloc. The United States through its two major parties has now demonstrated to the whole world that the UN concept has become a permanent part of its foreign policy.

The USSR also—despite the fact that she did not get a single committee chairmanship at the Assembly, and that the Berlin question was put on the Security Council agenda against her violent opposition—made it abundantly clear that she would not withdraw.

So great is the influence of the UN in the hearts of the people of the world that the strongest nations dare not ignore it. Further evidence of the growing importance of the UN lies in the fact that 11 countries are frantically asking admission. Italy, Ireland, Portugal, Trans-Jordan, Ceylon, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Finland, Mongolian People's Republic, have formally applied and have representatives unofficially but energetically lobbying day and night for them. Even the Vatican, traditionally above transient political currents, has increasingly thrown its moral weight behind the UN and is represented by important teams of observers in its agencies. In every trouble spot of the world—whether the threat is war, famine, plague, lack of education or flood control or finance capital—the United Nations is at work (see pages 31-34).

All governments are increasingly conscious of the growing moral authority of the organization. That is why such elaborate efforts were made by both the Western and Eastern powers to document and to present as forcefully as possible their respective accusations against each other as they possibly could.

The Western powers' essential reproach addressed to the Soviet Union does not concern so much this or that territorial ambition but the establishment of anti-parliamentary regimes, the impossibility for Westerners to communicate with the Soviet peoples, the existence of involuntary labor camps and so on. The accusation against the Soviets is a moral criticism.

On the other hand, the military preparations of the US, creation of strategic bases all over the world, the development of a system of almost universal alliances, constitute the main basis of the Soviet accusations against the Western powers.

The two cases represent significant shifts of emphasis. The West is shifting from a line of traditional diplomatic concern over Soviet aggrandizement to an over-all political offensive (see page 1). Its aim is to weaken world allegiances to Communist ideology.

The Russian shift has been from an internationalist and revolutionary line—advocating freedom for the masses and economic improvement for workers—to one concerned almost solely with rigidly controlled pro-Soviet Communist parties and with the strategic security and absolute national sovereignty of the USSR.

Another shift is also significant. For the first time since San Francisco, small powers have abandoned their traditional bystander position.

At Paris, China and the non-permanent members of the Security Council—except for the Soviet Ukraine—formed officially a neutral bloc and negotiated directly with both the West and East. This inaugurates a new era of diplomatic negotiations in which smaller powers will play a much more active role.

These two developments are signs indicating that war can be—and most likely will be—prevented. It will not be prevented by a magic formula which will establish the millennium. It will be an uneasy, armed, vigilant status quo in which—slowly through debate and action within the UN and by increasing pressure of world public opinion— the conditions necessary for confidence will prevail. Confidence, in turn, will make possible further steps—in control of atomic energy, disarmament and economic cooperation.

However, it is only within the UN that this uneasy stalemate can continue. Within the UN the grave, even violent, words of a represenative of one side—when spoken to the other's face at the conference table—arouse concern but not hopelessness. The same words—when read outside the UN buildings under screaming headlines—create fear and despair. The hope for world peace, it becomes ever more evident, is that—no matter how threatening the words may sound outside its halls—they are being spoken *within* the UN.

Sure, America's going ahead...

if we all pull together!

Let's compare *yesterday* with *today* . . . that will give us an idea of what tomorrow can be!

Machine Power: Since 1910 we have increased our supply of machine power *4½ times.*

Production: Since 1910 we have more than *doubled* the output each of us produces for every hour we work.

Income: Since 1910 we have increased our annual income from less than $2400 per household to about $4000 (in dollars of the same purchasing power.)

Work Hours: Yet, since 1910 we have cut 18 hours from our average workweek — equivalent to two present average workdays.

HOW have we succeeded in achieving all this? Through the American kind of teamwork! And what is *teamwork?*

American teamwork is management that pays reasonable wages and takes fair profits—that provides the best machines, tools, materials and working conditions it possibly can—that seeks new methods, new markets, new ideas; that bargains freely and fairly with its employees.

Our teamwork is labor that produces as efficiently and as much as it can—that realizes its standard of living ultimately depends upon how much America produces—that expects better wages as it helps increase that production.

Teamwork is simply working together to turn out more goods in fewer man-hours—making things at lower costs and paying higher wages to the people who make them and selling them at lower prices to the people who use them.

What we've already accomplished is just a foretaste of what we *can* do. It's just a start toward a goal we are all striving to reach: better housing, clothing, food, health, education, with ever greater opportunities for individual development. Sure, our American System has its faults. We all know that. We still have sharp ups and downs in prices and jobs. We'll have to change that—*and we will!*

It will continue to take *teamwork*, but if we work together, there's no limit on what we can all *share together* of even greater things.

What we have already accomplished is just a foretaste of what we *can* do—if we continue to *work together!*

Approved for the PUBLIC POLICY COMMITTEE *of The Advertising Council by:*

EVANS CLARK
Executive Director
Twentieth Century Fund

BORIS SHISHKIN
Economist
American Federation of Labor

PAUL G. HOFFMAN
Formerly President
Studebaker Corp.

CONTRIBUTED BY THIS MAGAZINE AS A PUBLIC SERVICE
in co-operation with the Magazine Publishers of America

WANT TO HELP? MAIL THIS!

PUBLIC POLICY COMMITTEE
THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL, INC.
11 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N.Y.

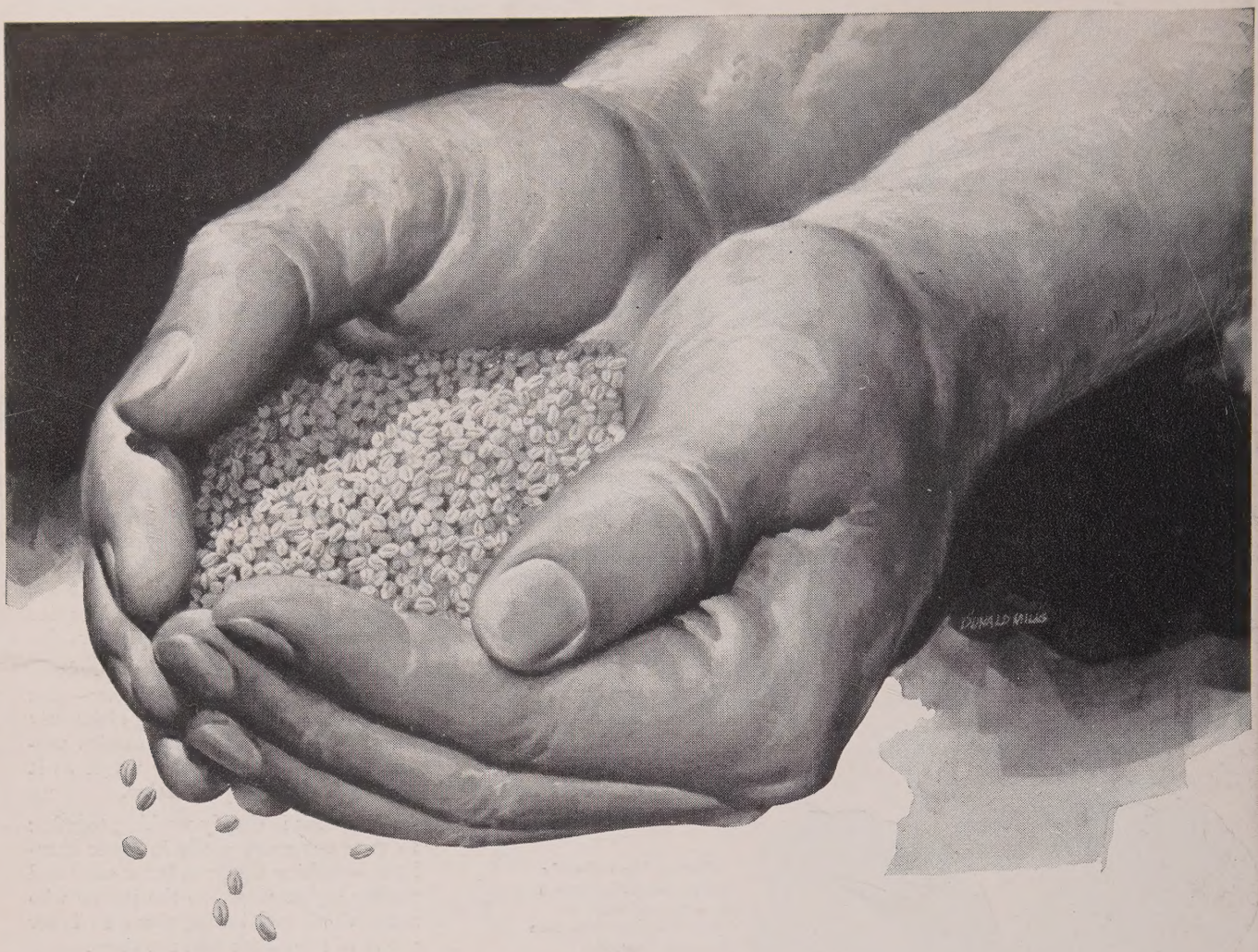
Please send me your free booklet, "The Miracle of America," which explains clearly and simply, how a still better living can be had for all, if we all work together.

Name_____

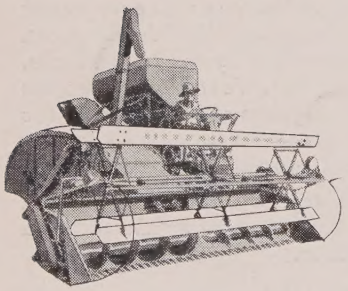
Address _____

_____

Occupation_____



Take life in your hands



International Harvester provides the most complete line of modern farm machines and equipment manufactured today. Here are the tools of mechanized farming, tested and proved under every conceivable operating condition, designed to meet exact requirements, built to produce larger and better crops everywhere.

Maybe you're not a farmer—but if you get the chance, dig into a grain-bin and scoop up the kernels of wheat. Hold the grain in your hands . . . feel its body and substance. This isn't a handful of gravel or iron filings. Here is golden food . . . rich food—the substance of life itself.

For more than 5,000 years wheat has grown in many different climates and on many different soils. Today it stands first among the cereals—but hands alone cannot produce enough of it. So this problem of raising enough wheat—and all food products—becomes the problem of agriculture, industry and science. And the most decisive factor in its solution is the correct use of modern farm machinery.

Men who work the land are familiar with the IH symbol—it identifies the thousands of International Harvester sales and service representatives throughout the world who demonstrate how sound, mechanized agriculture produces more food for all . . . on large scale acreage or small.

INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER EXPORT COMPANY
180 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE • CHICAGO 1, U. S. A.

INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER

McCormick-Deering International Tractors and Farm Equipment
International Trucks
International Refrigeration
International Industrial Power